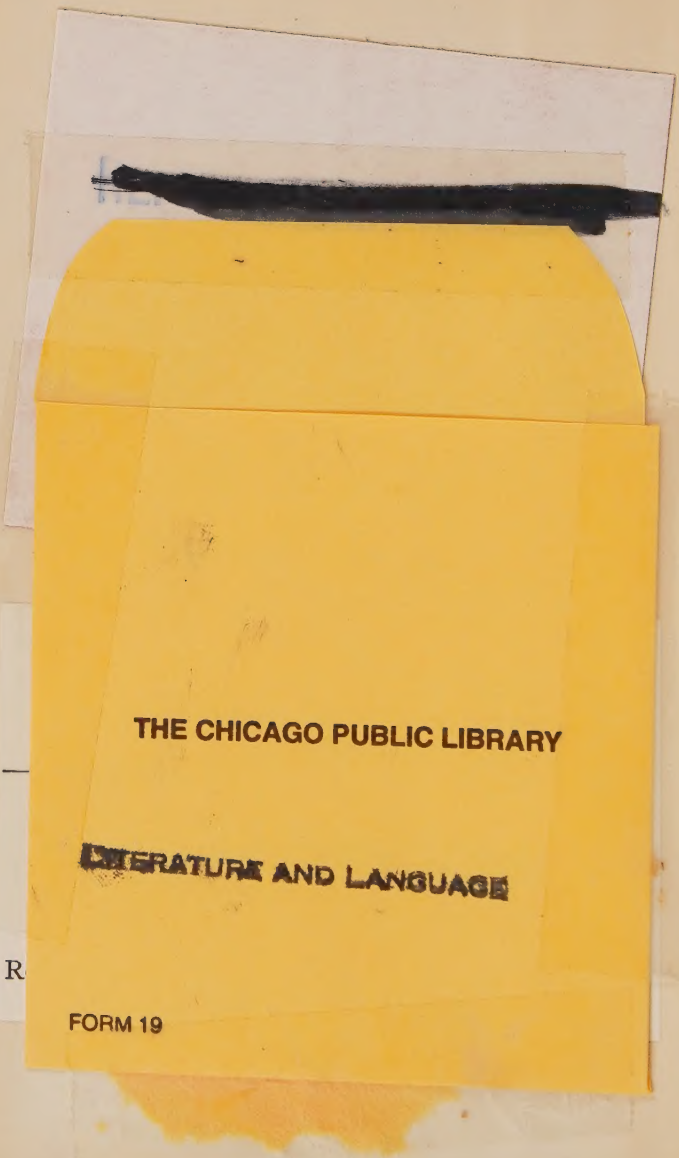

THE CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY

LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

FORM 19

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY
HAROLD WASHINGTON LIBRARY CENTER
R0025205188

R00252 05188

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY
LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE DIVISION
LITERATURE INFORMATION CENTER
400 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/dramaticepisodes0000ethe

Photograph by Underwood & Underwood

"I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

ATLANTIC CLASSICS

DRAMATIC EPISODES
IN CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENT

A Parliamentary Reader

BY
ETHEL HEDLEY ROBSON
(*B. S., Columbia*)
Grade Supervisor, Chisholm, Minnesota

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS
BOSTON

R 252 05188

COPYRIGHT 1923 BY THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY PRESS INC.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

THE [illegible] PUBLIC LIBRARY

478943 JUL 1 - '48

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

C FT
CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY
LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE DIVISION
LITERATURE DEPARTMENT
400 SOUTH STATE STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60605

TO THE TEACHER

This volume is written with the idea of using these dramatizations primarily for reading lessons in the classroom. Its purpose is to present historical facts in a concrete and dramatic manner.

The dramatizations will prove interesting to young people, for it is a pedagogical principle that a pupil is interested in a thing only in so far as he is a part of it. Here an opportunity is given him to be a leading factor in many of the great institutions in the history of his country, and he has for examples the greatest men that our nation has ever produced. If the dramatizations are read at the time when the history lessons treat of these subjects, the reading will tend to visualize and vivify facts which otherwise often prove dry and uninteresting; for, whereas in their text and references the boys and girls read *about* the people, here they *are* the people.

In these plays, the students not only are learning a vocabulary, and acquiring historical facts, but also are being grounded in the fundamentals of patriotism. This characteristic is brought to their attention continually in the willingness on the part of the patriots to sacrifice self for the good of the group.

Again, they are learning parliamentary law — a branch of knowledge which is very much neglected in nearly all courses of study. The only way to learn parliamentary law is to practise it, and this drill should take place in a natural setting, not one adapted merely for purposes of instruction. In the elementary school there are very few opportunities to do this. Here is a chance for that much needed drill

which will enable the pupil to take his place before any deliberative assembly and direct it ably, a capability which is lacking in many adults.

Many teachers will find this book a very helpful guide in working out these dramatizations for the history period. Here the students should give in their own words the lengthy arguments and speeches of the characters. However, many of the shorter sayings of the great men should be learned verbatim.

With a few simple costumes and properties, the plays lend themselves very well to school entertainments to be given in public. This may serve as a culmination of the regular class-work, and it will fix the historical event in mind so that it will never be forgotten.

The author has made the most diligent effort to determine the exact truth as to what took place in these conventions and, although authorities differ as to the actual occurrences, yet, as far as she has been able to ascertain, the facts are historically correct, the actions really occurred, and nearly all of the speeches are the exact words of the orators.

To those teachers who have had no experience in parliamentary procedure or may not have had experience in using the dramatic method, the following concrete suggestions are offered: —

Suggestions

Before beginning the reading-lesson, decisions should be made definitely as to which character each student is to represent. It would be best in most cases to let him make this choice himself. Thus, when the reading-lesson opens, each student, without directions or suggestions from the teacher, knows exactly what he is to read. In cases where no names are mentioned, but the context indicates "Mem-

ber" or "Delegate," it should be understood that any member of the class who wishes may stand and read the part. If two or more should happen to stand for the same remark, it would only make a natural situation, and the presiding officer should designate the one whom he wishes to have the floor by saying, "The gentleman from Virginia has the floor," or "Mr. Henry has the floor."

A member should *always* rise when seeking recognition from the presiding officer, and when making any remark, with the exception of seconding motions and nominations.

It is suggested that the presiding officer sit at the teacher's desk, the secretary at the reference reading-table, and the tellers in chairs near the table. The presiding officer should be provided with a gavel, and the secretary with paper and pen, that these officers may perform their true functions.

In cases where the roll call is long, it might be wise to omit many of the names. The lists, however, are usually given in full in order that the students may become familiar with the names of historical characters.

The long speeches of the Presidents in the Cuban Independence Congress and the World-War Congress should be cut considerably, at the discretion of the teacher.

For purposes of voting, there should be slips of paper cut and ready for use whenever the vote may be by ballot. The tellers should pass these when the occasion calls for it, and the students should vote just as the men they represent voted in the original Congress.

There has been no attempt to indicate all the way through the dramatizations whether those taking part should stand or be seated. The instructions given occasionally in the context, with the directions under "Some Simple Rules of Parliamentary Procedure" (see Appendix) are

thought to be sufficient to answer most of the questions that may arise.

The quotations, posters and letters, at the end of the dramatizations, should be written on the board when the selections with which they are connected are being read. This will tend to make the surroundings somewhat in keeping with the situation and help to arouse the spirit which ought to prevail to make the dramatizations real.

If this book is to be used successfully, the schoolroom must become, for the time being, the actual Senate or Assembly, and the pupils must be allowed all the freedom necessary to make the lesson real and vital. Flags, bunting, and pictures may frequently be used to enhance the effect. The one essential is that the spirit of these historic scenes be re-created.

CONTENTS

I	The Stamp Act Meetings	3
II	First Continental Congress	25
III	Virginia Convention	41
IV	Second Continental Congress	50
V	Declaration of Independence	59
VI	Constitutional Convention	83
VII	Emancipation Proclamation Cabinet Meetings	105
VIII	Cuban Independence Congress	119
IX	World-War Congress	149
X	The Arms Conference	175
	Appendix	265

Rules for Parliamentary Procedure

ILLUSTRATIONS

Page

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death" (*See page 47*) . . . . . Frontispiece

Patrick Henry Addressing the House of Burgesses 10

Washington, Henry, and Pendleton on the Way to the First Continental Congress 26

Duché's Prayer in the First Continental Congress 28

Committee on the Declaration of Independence . 68

Drafting the Declaration of Independence . . 70

Reporting the Declaration of Independence . . 72

Facsimile of First Page of Jefferson's Original Draft. 76

Facsimile of Entire Declaration. 80

Signing the Declaration of Independence . . . 82

Signing the Constitution 102

Reading the Emancipation Proclamation 110

The World-War Congress 164

The Conference in Full Session 174

Heads of the Nine Delegations 178

Diagram Showing Seating-Arrangement of Delegates 180

The United States Delegation 192

Facsimile of Signatures to the Four-Power Treaty 256–7

DRAMATIC EPISODES IN CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENT

"Come to order," says the chairman, and we have here at this moment in operation the greatest institution in this round world — the institution of free self-government. Great in its simplicity, great in its unselfishness. The voluntary surrender of some private good for the upbuilding of some community good: it is in such exercises that the fibre of democracy grows sound and strong.

David Grayson: *Adventures in Contentment*

DRAMATIC EPISODES IN CONGRESS AND PARLIAMENT

THE STAMP ACT MEETINGS

ACT I

THE STAMP ACT ASSEMBLY[1]

TIME: — May 29, 1765
PLACE: — Williamsburg, Virginia

CHARACTERS

PEYTON RANDOLPH, SPEAKER	EDMUND PENDLETON
PATRICK HENRY	OTHER MEMBERS
RICHARD BLAND	SECRETARY
GEORGE WYTHE	TELLERS

The Speaker is seated facing the other members and the Secretary is at the table. An extra chair should be placed in the front of the room for the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole. The Speaker raps on his desk with his gavel.

SPEAKER (*seated*). The House will please come to order.

(*Speaker rises.*)

Gentlemen, you are all aware of the Stamp Act that has been passed by the British Parliament.

[1] The Stamp Act Assembly consists of the members of the House of Burgesses.

A copy, which I should like to put before you, has just been received by this body. It is in the hands of the Secretary and will be read to you at this time.

(*Speaker sits.*)

SECRETARY (*reads*).

An Act for granting and applying certain stamp duties, and other duties in the British colonies and plantations in America, towards further defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same; and for amending such parts of the several acts of Parliament, relating to the trade and revenues of the said colonies and plantations, as direct the manner of determining and recovering the penalties and forfeitures therein mentioned: —

WHEREAS, by an act made in the last session of Parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated, towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America; and whereas, it is just and necessary that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your Majesty's dominions in America, toward defraying the said expenses: we, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your Majesty the several rates and duties herein after mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your Majesty that it may be enacted, and be it enacted . . . That from and after the first day of November, one thousand seven hundred sixty-five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto His Majesty, his heirs, and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of His Majesty, his heirs and successors.

For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet

or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any declaration, plea, rejoinder, or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of threepence.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, rejoinder, or other pleading, in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and sixpence.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any copy of any will (other than the probate thereof), monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation in ecclesiastical matters in any such court, a stamp duty of sixpence.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any note or bill of lading, which shall be signed for any kind of goods, wares, or merchandise, to be exported from, or any cocket or clearance granted within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of fourpence.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and the Bahama islands, a stamp duty of sixpence.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

For every skin . . . on which shall be engrossed . . . any register, entry, or enrollment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, herein before charged, within

the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of threepence.

And for and upon every paper, commonly called a pamphlet, and upon every newspaper, containing public news, intelligence, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made public within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are herein after mentioned, the respective duties following (that is to say): —

For every such pamphlet and paper contained in half a sheet, or any lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one halfpenny, for every printed copy thereof.

For every pamphlet and paper (being larger than half a sheet and not exceeding one whole sheet), which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one penny, for every printed copy thereof.

For every advertisement to be contained in any gazette, newspaper, or other paper, or any pamphlet which shall be so printed, a duty of two shillings.

For every almanac or calendar, for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin, or piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of twopence.

And there shall be also paid in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of sixpence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with or in relation to any clerk or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress to learn any profession, trade or employment.

(*This is a short but representative part of the original Stamp Act.*)

SPEAKER (*seated*). I should like to hear the opinions of the various members in regard to this.

GEORGE WYTHE. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Wythe.

GEORGE WYTHE. I make a motion that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, immediately, to consider steps necessary to be taken in consequence of the resolutions of the House of Commons of Great Britain, relative to charging certain stamp duties in the colonies and plantations of America.

MEMBER. I second the motion.

SPEAKER (*seated*). The motion has been made and seconded that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider steps necessary to be taken in consequence of the resolutions of the House of Commons of Great Britain relative to charging certain stamp duties in the colonies and plantations of America.

(*Speaker rises.*)

All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*) It is carried. Will Edmund Pendleton please take the chair.

Edmund Pendleton then takes the chair in front of the room, acting as Chairman of the Committee. He should not occupy the Speaker's chair, but should sit in one placed for that purpose. The Speaker takes a seat among the other members.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Henry.

PATRICK HENRY. According to English law, King George has no right to tax his subjects, in either

England or America, without their consent or the consent of their representatives. Have the colonists been asked whether they want this Stamp Act or not? No! Does King George let our assemblies have any say of the way we shall raise money? No! Then he has no right to demand that the colonies pay this tax. "No taxation without representation" is our motto. I, therefore, move the adoption of the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of this colony has the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

(*Hands copy of the resolution to the Chairman.*)

MEMBER. I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). It has been moved and seconded that the following resolution be adopted: —

> *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of this colony has the only and sole exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

Are you ready for the question?

RICHARD BLAND. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bland.

RICHARD BLAND. We have been taxed by a legislature in which we are not represented. We are perfectly willing to pay our share toward the support of the Empire, but we insist that these taxes be voted by our own assemblies.

MEMBER. Mr. Chairman (*after a nod of recognition from the Chairman*), we are all true Englishmen at heart and want to be faithful to our mother country. Let us not take any radical action immediately. Let us send the king a petition in which we shall state our rights and ask him to consider them.

MEMBER. Mr. Chairman (*after a nod of recognition from the Chairman*), so far no other colony has been heard from; there has not been time. Let Virginia wait a little. She must make no mistake, she must not push forward into a dangerous situation; let her wait at least until she has heard from some of her sister colonies.

GEORGE WYTHE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wythe.

MR. WYTHE. There is no authority outside of the colony itself, that has a right to tax its people. I shall never favor this tax, unless the request comes from the colonists themselves.

MEMBER. Mr. Chairman (*after a nod of recognition from the Chairman*), this is preposterous, this open defiance of the king.

MEMBER. Mr. Chairman (*after a nod of recognition from the Chairman*), I shall never sanction any such rash action as this.

MEMBER. Mr. Chairman (*after a nod of recognition*

from the Chairman), I shall never be guilty of going against the mother country.

Silence for a moment, then Patrick Henry slowly rises to his feet. All turn toward him expectantly.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Henry.

PATRICK HENRY. Gentlemen, we must not let ourselves be misled. If we bow submissively to this tax, it is going to be followed by others. Our desires, our opinions, will count for naught . . . we must bow always to the will of England. (*He pauses for a moment, and then continues.*) Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I had his Cromwell, and George III ("*Treason! Treason!*" *interrupt some members*) and George III may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it.

(*Perfect silence for a few moments.*)

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). The question is on the adoption of the resolution as introduced by Patrick Henry. Are you ready for the question?

(*Silence.*)

All those in favor of adopting this resolution, say *aye.*

(*Many "ayes."*)

Those opposed, *no.*

(*Many "noes."*)

The Chair is not sure of the result. Those in favor of the resolution will rise.

(*Thirteen rise.*)

Be seated. Those opposed will rise.

(*Twelve rise. Chairman counts the votes.*)

PATRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

The resolution is adopted, thirteen voting in the affirmative, and twelve in the negative.

RICHARD BLAND. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bland.

MR. BLAND. I make a motion that the Committee rise and report that the resolution as introduced by Patrick Henry has passed the Committee.

MEMBER. I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that the Committee rise and report that the resolution as introduced by Patrick Henry has passed the Committee.

Those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

It is carried.

The presiding officer now takes the chair again, and the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, Edmund Pendleton, resumes his place in the assembly.

EDMUND PENDLETON. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Pendleton.

EDMUND PENDLETON. The Committee of the Whole has had under consideration the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That the General Assembly of this colony has the only and exclusive right and power to lay taxes and impositions upon the inhabitants of this colony; and that every attempt to vest such power in any person or persons whatsoever, other than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British as well as American freedom.

I have been directed to report the same as having passed the Committee.

SPEAKER. What is the pleasure of the House in regard to this resolution?

RICHARD BLAND. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Bland.

RICHARD BLAND. I move that this resolution be adopted.

MEMBER. I second the motion.

SPEAKER (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the resolution as just read be adopted. The tellers will please pass the ballots.

Slips of paper are passed to the students. They write "yes" or "no" on them. The tellers count them, then one teller stands and addresses the Speaker thus:—

Mr. Speaker.

Number of votes cast 25
Number voting no 12
Number voting yes 13

(*Teller hands report to the Speaker.*)

SPEAKER. The resolution has passed by a margin of one vote.

GEORGE WYTHE. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Wythe.

MR. WYTHE. I move we adjourn.

MEMBER. I second the motion.

SPEAKER (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor, say *aye*. ("*Ayes*" *are heard from all sides.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No* "*noes.*")

The ayes have it and we stand adjourned.

(*All pass out.*)

THE STAMP ACT MEETINGS

ACT II

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS

TIME: — October 7 to October 28, 1765
PLACE: — New York

CHARACTERS

PRESIDENT OF THE CONGRESS
JAMES OTIS, MASSACHUSETTS
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA
JOHN DICKINSON, DELAWARE
ROBERT LIVINGSTON, NEW YORK
PHILIP LIVINGSTON, NEW YORK
JOHN RUTLEDGE, SOUTH CAROLINA
OTHER DELEGATES
SECRETARY

There were twenty-eight delegates in all. Only the most prominent ones are mentioned here. The following colonies were represented: —

MASSACHUSETTS
CONNECTICUT
RHODE ISLAND
NEW YORK
NEW JERSEY
PENNSYLVANIA
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
SOUTH CAROLINA

The President is seated in a chair facing the delegates and the Secretary is at the table.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The meeting will come to

order. We shall listen to the roll call by the Secretary.

The Secretary calls the roll in the following manner:

JAMES OTIS, MASSACHUSETTS
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA
JOHN DICKINSON, DELAWARE
ROBERT LIVINGSTON, NEW YORK
PHILIP LIVINGSTON, NEW YORK
JOHN RUTLEDGE, SOUTH CAROLINA

Each delegate responds by word "present."

PRESIDENT (*rising*). I am glad to see so many colonies represented to-day. The four which were not able to send delegates have sent their expressions of good will. As you are aware, we have met to consult concerning the tax measures of Parliament. The Stamp Act, which Parliament has inflicted upon us, goes into effect November first. Our time is short. We must take action here at this meeting which will compel King George to repeal the act.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

JOHN DICKINSON. I have written out a "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" which I should like to read and have Congress take action on.

First: That the colonies owe the same allegiance to the Crown as other Englishmen.

Second: That they are entitled to all the rights and liberties of natural-born subjects.

Third: That it is an undoubted right of Englishmen to be taxed only by their own representatives.

Fourth: That the people of the colonies cannot be represented in Parliament.

Fifth: That only their own representatives can tax them.

Sixth: That it is unconstitutional for Parliament to grant to the king the property of the colonists.

Seventh: That trial by jury and right of petition are privileges of every British subject.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. LIVINGSTON. I move the Declaration be published by Congress and a copy sent to the king. With it we should send a loyal address to His Majesty showing that Americans have no idea of demanding independence.

DELEGATE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made and seconded that the Declaration be published by Congress and a copy sent to the king together with a loyal address to His Majesty, showing that Americans have no idea of demanding independence. Are you ready for the question?

DELEGATE. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), I don't see why we should n't pay our share of England's tax. She is paying for our wars.

DELEGATE. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), it has always been the right of the mother country to tax her colonies.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Gadsden.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. It is against the very laws of England herself to tax us.

DELEGATE. Mr. President (*after a nod of recogni-*

tion from the President), I should like to ask the gentleman from South Carolina why it is against the laws of England.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. GADSDEN. Is n't there a law in England which says people shall not be taxed unless they are represented in Parliament? Did n't people rise up against taxation without representation way back in the days of King John? Did n't they say, "Taxation without representation is tyranny"?

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The question is on the adoption of the motion made by Philip Livingston. Are you ready for the question?

(*Silence.*)

All those in favor of the motion, say *aye.* (*Many "ayes."*) Those, opposed, *no.* (*Few "noes."*)

The ayes have it and the motion is adopted.

(*Applause.*)

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. A confirmation of our essential and common rights as Englishmen may be pleaded from charters safely enough; but any further dependence upon them may be fatal. We should stand upon the broad common ground of those natural rights that we all feel and know as men and as descendants of Englishmen. I hope the charters may not ensnare us at last by drawing different colonies to act differently in this great cause. Whenever this is the case, all will be over with the whole. There

ought to be no New England man, no New Yorker known on the continent; but all of us Americans.

(*Applause.*)

DELEGATE. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), what if no attention is paid to our appeal? How shall we force our declarations?

JAMES OTIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

JAMES OTIS. I move that a petition be sent out and all merchants pledge themselves to import no more goods from England until the Act is repealed. I would suggest that the Sons of Liberty clubs promise to buy no more British-made articles. I would also move that Congress instruct Benjamin Franklin, who is now in London, to explain to the Government that the Americans are firm and united on this question.

DELEGATE. I second this motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that all merchants pledge themselves to import no more goods from England until the Act is repealed, that the Sons of Liberty clubs promise to buy no more British-made articles, and that Congress instruct Benjamin Franklin to explain to the Government that the Americans are firm and united on this question. Are you ready for the question?

(*Silence.*)

All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The ayes have it and the motion is carried.

PRESIDENT. A motion for adjournment is in order.

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. GADSDEN. I move we adjourn.

DELEGATE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Those opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

THE STAMP ACT MEETINGS

ACT III

PARLIAMENT: JOINT SESSION OF BOTH HOUSES

TIME: — March 18, 1766
PLACE: — Parliament House, London

CHARACTERS

GEORGE III
WILLIAM PITT
EDMUND BURKE
LORD CAMDEN
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
GEORGE GRENVILLE [1]
MARQUIS OF ROCKINGHAM [2]
LORD MANSFIELD
PRESIDING OFFICER
MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF LORDS
MEMBERS OF HOUSE OF COMMONS
ENGLISH TORIES
ENGLISH WHIGS
SECRETARY

The presiding officer is seated in a chair facing the members. The members of the House of Lords are seated on one side and those of the House of Commons on the other. The king should be in a conspicuous place at one side. Every line in his face denotes anger. The Speaker raps on his desk with his gavel.

[1] Formerly England's prime minister.
[2] England's prime minister in 1766.

SPEAKER (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order.

(*Speaker rises.*)

Gentlemen, the king has ordered a joint session of Parliament to-day to consider what we shall do in regard to the wilfulness shown by our American colonies in refusing to obey the Stamp Act.

I have a petition here which was sent to His Majesty from the London merchants. He has requested that I bring it to your attention. It reads as follows:

Your Majesty: A total annihilation of our trade is evident; the colonists are not only refusing to buy goods but they are refusing to pay for those already purchased. This indebtedness amounts to some £1,000,000 and its loss would mean ruin to many. They say they will buy goods only when the Stamp Act is repealed. We are slowly but surely all going into bankruptcy. Your Majesty, in the name of the welfare of England, we ask you to repeal this Act.

Signed by English Merchants.

EDMUND BURKE. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Burke.

EDMUND BURKE. I favor repeal. It is of no use to tax America.

WILLIAM PITT. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Pitt.

WILLIAM PITT. We may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power whatsoever, except that of taking money out of their pockets without their consent.

(*Turns toward the king.*)

Your Majesty, I favor repeal because England has no right to tax America. I rejoice that she has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all feelings of liberty as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of ourselves.

I make a motion that this Stamp Act be repealed, for the reason that it was founded on an erroneous principle. At the same time, I would recommend a Declaratory Act, which had, hath, and of right ought to have full power and authority to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever.

EDMUND BURKE. I second the motion.

SPEAKER (*seated*). The motion has been made and seconded that the Stamp Act be repealed, and a Declaratory Act is recommended which had, hath, and of right ought to have full power to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever. Are you ready for the question?

GEORGE GRENVILLE. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Grenville.

MR. GRENVILLE. It is useless to try to push this Stamp Act. It has been a mistake from the first. Let the Stamp Act be repealed.

(*George III jumps to his feet and shouts "Never."*)

MR. GRENVILLE. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Grenville.

MR. GRENVILLE. But it is a failure. We cannot carry it out; and a law that cannot be carried out ought to be repealed. From all history of the Euro-

pean world, since the latter days of the Roman Republic, there is no more important lesson to be learned than this: that it is impossible for a free people to govern a dependent people despotically without endangering its own freedom.

TORY. Mr. Speaker (*after a nod of recognition from the Speaker*), to think that these children of ours — these colonies that have been protected by us — to think that they grudge us the money to pay this debt!

WHIG (*angrily and without waiting for recognition*). Planted by our care! The people were driven to America to escape our persecution in the first place. When have we taken care of them? They have taken care of themselves. As for the French and Indian War, was that not for our protection as well as theirs?

EDMUND BURKE (*seated*). I guess we tried to shear a wolf instead of a lamb.

LORD CAMDEN. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Lord Camden.

LORD CAMDEN (*rises and turns toward fellow members*). My lords, you have no right to tax America. The natural rights of men and the immutable laws of nature are all with that people.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (*rises and turns toward king*). Your Majesty, I think you see it is hopeless to tax colonies against their will.

TORY (*turns toward Franklin while seated*). What used to be the pride of Americans?

MR. FRANKLIN (*seated*). To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain.

TORY (*seated*). What is now their pride?

MR. FRANKLIN (*seated*). To wear their old clothes over and over again until they can make new ones.

(*Applause from the Whigs.*)

LORD MANSFIELD. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Lord Mansfield.

LORD MANSFIELD. Colonies are represented in Parliament as all members of the Commons represent the whole British Empire. They are as truly represented as eight-ninths of the inhabitants of England, who have no vote for members of Parliament and yet are taxed by them.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Franklin.

MR. FRANKLIN. There is a big difference between the Englishman who has no vote, and the colonist. The former is a part of the British public to which the member of Parliament is responsible, while the colonist, three thousand miles away, has no chance of appealing to his interests or his fears.

WILLIAM PITT. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Mr. Pitt.

MR. PITT. We concede that Parliament has a right to lay external taxes as in navigation laws, but it has no right to lay internal taxes.

SPEAKER (*rising*). The question is, shall we repeal the Stamp Act? Are you ready for the question? (*Silence.*) All those in favor of this motion, please say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*Many "noes."*)

TORY. Mr. Speaker, I call for a division.

SPEAKER. All those in favor of this motion will please rise. (*A majority of the members of both Houses*

rise.) Be seated. Those opposed, rise. (*Those who remained in their seats now rise.*)

SPEAKER (*after counting the votes*). It is carried. Will the Secretary please put the motion in appropriate form for the king's signature.

The Secretary writes for a moment, then takes the document to the king for his signature. At first he pushes it away from him, but realizing he must sign it, slowly and reluctantly he reaches for it. As he affixes his signature, he remarks angrily, "We are fools to give way to these colonies." Applause by Whigs. The king sullenly leaves the room.

SPEAKER (*seated*). A motion for adjournment is in order.

LORD CAMDEN. Mr. Speaker.

SPEAKER. Lord Camden.

LORD CAMDEN. I move we adjourn.

MEMBER. I second the motion.

SPEAKER (*rising*). A motion for adjournment has been made and seconded. All those in favor say *aye.* (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

Much rejoicing and hand shaking among the Whigs as they pass out.

POSTER

THE first man that either distributes or makes use of Stampt Paper, let him take care of his House, Person, and Effects!

FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

TIME: — September 5 — November 5, 1774

PLACE: — Carpenters' Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CHARACTERS

PEYTON RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT, VIRGINIA

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
SOUTH CAROLINA

JOHN RUTLEDGE
SOUTH CAROLINA

THOMAS LYNCH
NEW YORK

SAMUEL ADAMS
MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN DICKINSON
DELAWARE

ROGER SHERMAN
CONNECTICUT

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
NEW JERSEY

PATRICK HENRY
VIRGINIA

EDMUND PENDLETON
VIRGINIA

GEORGE WASHINGTON
VIRGINIA

RICHARD HENRY LEE
VIRGINIA

SAMUEL CHASE
MARYLAND

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN
SOUTH CAROLINA

JOSEPH WARREN
MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN ADAMS
MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN JAY
NEW YORK

STEPHEN HOPKINS
RHODE ISLAND

CÆSAR RODNEY
DELAWARE

GEORGE READ
DELAWARE

BENJAMIN HARRISON
VIRGINIA

JAMES DUANE
NEW YORK

MAJOR SULLIVAN
NEW YORK

RICHARD BLAND
VIRGINIA

PAUL REVERE — CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY
MASSACHUSETTS
REV. MR. DUCHÉ — DOORKEEPER

The colonists enter and take their seats. One delegate faces the others and acts as temporary chairman. Charles Thomson and Paul Revere are standing just outside the door.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order.

THOMAS LYNCH. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York.

THOMAS LYNCH. There is a gentleman present who has presided over a very respectable society, greatly to the advantage of America, and I, therefore, propose that the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esq., one of the delegates from Virginia and the late Speaker of their House of Burgesses, should be appointed president. I doubt not that it will be unanimous.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). Is there a second?

SAMUEL ADAMS. I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that the Honorable Peyton Randolph, Esq. be appointed president. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The vote is unanimous. Will Mr. Randolph please take the chair.

(*Mr. Randolph takes the chair amid much applause.*)

THOMAS LYNCH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. LYNCH. I move that Mr. Charles Thomson, a

WASHINGTON, PATRICK HENRY, AND EDMUND PENDLETON ON THEIR WAY TO THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

gentleman of family, fortune, and character in this city, be appointed secretary.

SAMUEL ADAMS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that Charles Thomson be appointed secretary. All those in favor of Mr. Thomson as secretary, please say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*) The vote is unanimous. Will the doorkeeper please find Mr. Thomson and say to him that his immediate attendance is desired by Congress.

(*Exit doorkeeper.*)

PRESIDENT (*rising*). Let us show respect to our mother country to-day by opening this first great general assembly of the colonists by singing "God Save the King." All rise and sing: —

God save our gracious King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King,
Send him victorious
Happy and glorious
Long to reign over us;
God save the King.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. DICKINSON. I think this important meeting ought to be opened with prayer.

EDMUND PENDLETON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. PENDLETON. I fear, as there are so many religious views represented here, that we cannot all join in the same act of worship.

SAMUEL ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. ADAMS. I move the Rev. Mr. Duché,[1] an Episcopalian, read prayers to the Congress.

ROGER SHERMAN. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made and seconded that the Rev. Mr. Duché read prayers to the Congress. Those in favor, say *aye*. ("*Ayes*" *from all sides.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No* "*noes.*") The motion is carried.

President sits. Rev. Mr. Duché rises and reads the thirty-fifth Psalm for the seventh day of the month. All bow heads reverently.

PLEAD thou my cause, O Lord, with them that strive with me, and fight Thou against them that fight against me. Lay hand upon the shield and buckler, and stand up to help me.

Just as the prayer is finished, the doorkeeper enters with Mr. Thomson. The latter walks up the aisle, stands opposite the President, bows and says: "I have just received the message that I am wanted. I await your pleasure."

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Congress desires the favor of you, sir, to take its minutes.

(*Mr. Thomson bows and takes his seat at the desk.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the Secretary call the roll.

SECRETARY (*picks up book lying on the table, containing the names of the delegates. They respond with* "*here*" *or* "*present*").

[1] Pronounced Du-Shāy.

DUCHÉ'S PRAYER IN THE FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

S. Adams
J. Adams
J. Rutledge
P. Henry

S. Hopkins
P. Livingston

G. Washington
Peyton Randolph

W. Livingston

T. McKean
Roger Sherman
William Pack

Rev. Mr. Duche

S. Chase
Isaac Low
John Jay
R. H. Lee

Thomas Mifflin
Charles Thomson

B. Harrison

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
SOUTH CAROLINA
JOHN RUTLEDGE
SOUTH CAROLINA
THOMAS LYNCH
NEW YORK
WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
NEW JERSEY
SAMUEL ADAMS
MASSACHUSETTS
JOHN DICKINSON
DELAWARE
ROGER SHERMAN
CONNECTICUT
PATRICK HENRY
VIRGINIA
EDMOND PENDLETON
VIRGINIA
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGE WASHINGTON
VIRGINIA
RICHARD HENRY LEE
VIRGINIA
SAMUEL CHASE
MARYLAND
PEYTON RANDOLPH
VIRGINIA
JAMES DUANE
NEW YORK
JOSEPH WARREN
MASSACHUSETTS
JOHN ADAMS
MASSACHUSETTS
JOHN JAY
NEW YORK
STEPHEN HOPKINS
RHODE ISLAND
CÆSAR RODNEY
DELAWARE
GEORGE READ
DELAWARE
BENJAMIN HARRISON
VIRGINIA
MAJOR SULLIVAN
NEW YORK
RICHARD BLAND
VIRGINIA[1]

PRESIDENT (*rising*). First, gentlemen, I wish you to promise that whatever happens here shall never be divulged. All those who so promise, rise. (*All rise.*) Will the two gentlemen in the rear please close the doors?

(*Two delegates step back and close the doors which should have been left open purposely.*)

[1] Although fifty-five delegates were present, only the most prominent ones are mentioned here.

Gentlemen, as you are all aware, this meeting was suggested by means of the Committee of Correspondence. With her ever-ready quickness to act, Massachusetts issued the call and it gives me great pleasure to see before me to-day delegates from every colony except one. We deeply regret that Georgia is not represented.

Notice the growth of union among our colonies. Only four colonies sent representatives to the New England Convention, seven to the Albany Convention, nine to the Stamp Act Congress, and now we find this Congress represented by every colony with the exception of Georgia.

The purpose of this meeting is to talk over the present alarming situation and decide upon some plan of action. I think we are all agreed that there must be some central authority to which all the colonies can turn for guidance. We have been driven to take this step by one Act after another. The king is now preparing to carry the Intolerable Acts into effect. The harbor of Boston is closed to all incoming and outgoing vessels and more soldiers are sent to Boston.

I should like to hear, from the delegates present, suggestions as to the wisest course for us to follow.

Several delegates stand quickly. James Duane is first.

JAMES DUANE AND OTHERS. Mr. President! Mr. President!

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York has the floor.

MR. DUANE. I move a committee be appointed to prepare regulations for this Congress.

JOHN ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. ADAMS. May I ask the President to request of the gentleman from New York an explanation, and that he will point out some particular regulations which he has in mind.

MR. DUANE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. DUANE. I refer particularly to the method of voting — whether it should be by colonies, by polls, or by interests.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

PATRICK HENRY. As this is the first General Congress that has ever been held, and as we all know there will be many occasions for Congresses in the future, we ought to establish some precedent now. I believe it would be a great injustice if a little colony should have the same weight in the councils of America as a great one. Therefore I am for a committee.

MAJOR SULLIVAN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. SULLIVAN. A little colony as well as a great one has its all at stake.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

PATRICK HENRY. Government is dissolved. Fleets and armies and the present state of things show that

government is dissolved. Where are your landmarks, your boundaries of colonies? We are in a state of nature, sir. The distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American. Slaves are to be thrown out of the question, and if the freemen can be represented according to their numbers, I am satisfied.

RICHARD HENRY LEE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. LEE. But one reason prevails with me for favoring one vote to each colony; that we are not at this time provided with proper materials to assign proper proportions.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. RUTLEDGE. I can see no way of voting but by colonies. I make a motion that this mode be established for the present, but at the same time that an entry be made in the journal to prevent its being drawn into a precedent in the future. I move that the following resolution be adopted:

> *Resolved:* That in determining questions in this Congress, each colony or province shall have one vote: the Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure, proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.
>
> (*Hands resolution to President.*)

ROGER SHERMAN. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the following resolution be adopted: —

Resolved, That in determining questions in this Congress, each colony or province shall have one vote: the Congress not being possessed of, or at present able to procure proper materials for ascertaining the importance of each colony.

Are you ready for the question?

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

PATRICK HENRY. We are met here in a time and on an occasion of great difficulty and distress; our public circumstances are like those of a man in deep embarrassment and trouble, who called his friends together to devise what was best to be done for his relief; one would propose one thing, and another a different one, whilst perhaps a third would think of something better suited to his unhappy circumstances, which he would embrace, and think no more of the rejected schemes with which he would have nothing to do.

JOSEPH WARREN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. WARREN. People owe an indispensable duty to God and their country to preserve those liberties for which the fathers fought and bled, and we promise cheerful submission to such measures as the Continental Congress may recommend.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The question is on the adoption of the resolution introduced by Edward Rutledge. Are you ready for the question? (*Silence.*) As many as are in favor of the resolution say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Those who are opposed, *no*. (*Few "noes."*)

The *ayes* have it and the resolution is adopted.

SAMUEL ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

SAMUEL ADAMS. I should like to submit the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That we issue a new declaration of rights and addresses to the people of England and America, and a petition to the king.

In this declaration of rights, I would suggest that we assert our right to tax ourselves, and our right to petition for redress of grievances.

(*Hands resolution to President.*)

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Rutledge.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. I move this resolution be adopted.

ROGER SHERMAN. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the following resolution be adopted.

> *Resolved*, That we issue a new declaration of rights and addresses to the people of England and America, and a petition to the king.

Are you ready for the question?

STEPHEN HOPKINS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Rhode Island.

MR. HOPKINS. Mr. President. I ask for the "yeas" and "nays" on this resolution.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Rhode Island requests the "yeas" and "nays" on the resolution. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the names and records the votes of the following colonies: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island. The chairman of each colonial delegation should have been determined previously. In the case of colonies where no special representatives are designated, any student may respond. All should report "yes." The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The resolution is adopted. I appoint Richard Henry Lee, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and John Rutledge a committee to draw up this Declaration, stating the rights of the colonies, the instances in which these rights have been violated, and the most proper means to obtain their restoration.

Paul Revere suddenly enters. His body is quivering with excitement.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). Oh! what news, Revere?

(PRESIDENT *remains standing.*)

PAUL REVERE. General Gage is trying to force the people of Massachusetts to submit to the changes in their government, and they are arming to resist.

RICHARD HENRY LEE (*without waiting for recognition from the Chair*). I make a motion that Congress adopt this resolution: —

Resolved, That all Americans ought to support Massachusetts in her opposition.

SAMUEL CHASE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT. A motion has been made and seconded that Congress adopt the resolution that all Americans ought to support Massachusetts in her opposition.

All those in favor say *aye.* (*"Ayes" heard from all sides.*) Opposed, *no.* (*Silence.*)

It is carried.

(REVERE *hastens out.* PRESIDENT *sits.*)

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. I should like to suggest that we form an "American Association for Non-importation of British Goods." To carry out this plan I would suggest that a committee be chosen in every county, city, and town to observe the conduct of all persons touching this agreement.

Merchants who continue to import English goods shall have their names published as enemies of their country and no one is to buy of them or sell to them. I suggest we kill as few lambs as possible, and give up eating mutton, and start domestic manufactures, especially of woolens, in order to be independent of England in the matter of clothing. I should like to suggest to the Committee of Correspondence, that they denounce as an enemy to the liberties of this country any man who refuses to join this association. I would also suggest that an arrangement be made to keep the rest of the country in touch with Boston where events are rapidly rushing to a crisis. I embody these suggestions in a motion that we form a group to be called the "American Association for

Nonimportation of British Goods"; that the names of those who do not conform to the rules of the association be published; that the Committee of Correspondence denounce as enemies all those who do not join the association, and that arrangements be made to keep the rest of the country in touch with Boston.

MR. DICKINSON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that we form an "American Association for Nonimportation of British Goods"; that the names of those who do not conform to the rules of the association be published; that the Committee of Correspondence denounce as enemies all those who do not join the association, and that arrangements be made to keep the rest of the country in touch with Boston.

Are you ready for the question?

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this resolution.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from New Jersey asks for the "yeas" and "nays" on the resolution. Will the Secretary call the roll.

Again the names of the colonies are called. The response of each representative is "yes." The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT. It is carried.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

PATRICK HENRY. May I give this little advice?

(*Turns towards associates.*)

Forget you are from Pennsylvania and New York and remember that hereafter we must all unite in one common cause. For myself, I repeat, I am not a Virginian but an American. (*Applause.*)

JOHN JAY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

JOHN JAY. I move we adjourn, appointing May 10 for the second meeting of the Continental Congress.

JOHN RUTLEDGE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn, appointing May 10 for the second meeting of the Continental Congress. All those in favor, say *aye.* (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*) It is carried. We stand adjourned until May 10.

(*All pass out.*)

POSTER

A LIST of the Names of those who audaciously continue to counteract the united sentiments of the Body of Merchants throughout North America, by importing British Goods contrary to the agreement: —

JOHN BERNARD
(In King St. almost opposite Vernon's Head)
JAMES MCMASTERS
(On Treat's Wharf)
PATRICK MCMASTERS
(Opposite the Sign of the Lamb)
JOHN MEIN
(Opposite the White-Horse and in King St.)
HENRY BARNES
(Trader in the Town of Marlboro)

POSTER

WILLIAM JACKSON
AN IMPORTER;
at the
BRAZEN HEAD,
North Side of the TOWN-HOUSE,
and opposite the TOWN-PUMP,
in
CORN-HILL, BOSTON

IT is desired that the SONS and DAUGHTERS OF LIBERTY would not buy any one thing of him, for in so doing they will bring Disgrace upon themselves, and their posterity, for ever and ever, AMEN.

POSTER

FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

PHILADELPHIA, *Aug.* 29, 1774

THE HON. THOMAS CUSHING, ESQ., Mr. Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, Esquires, Delegates from Boston, are expected in town this evening.

PENNSYLVANIA PACKET

POSTER

PHILADELPHIA, *Jan.* 28, 1775

From the LONDON PUBLIC LEDGER: — I look on the dignity of the American Congress as equal to any assembly on earth, and their deliberations and resolutions more important than any which were ever before agitated in council.

PENNSYLVANIA EVENING POST

THE VIRGINIA CONVENTION

TIME: — March 20–27, 1775
PLACE: — St. John's Church, Richmond, Virginia

CHARACTERS

PEYTON RANDOLPH, PRESIDENT
PATRICK HENRY
GEORGE WASHINGTON
RICHARD HENRY LEE
BENJAMIN HARRISON
EDMUND PENDLETON
THOMAS JEFFERSON
JOHN TAZEWELL, CLERK
COLONISTS FROM VIRGINIA
TELLERS

The President is seated facing the colonists. The Clerk is at the table. The President raps on his desk with his gavel.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order.

(*President rises.*)

Gentlemen, instead of conditions growing better, and signs forthcoming that the king is going to give us our rights, everything points to the contrary. Now he has sent three thousand soldiers to Boston to force the people of Massachusetts to obey his commands. Is it not time we arouse ourselves to some course of action? (*Cries of "Yes, Yes."*) I should like to hear from the colonists.

COLONIST. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), I believe the disagreements between King George and the Americans will yet be

settled and therefore we should act with great caution.

COLONIST. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), let us wait for a time before taking any definite action. If we do something for which we shall be sorry later, how can we expect any mercy from the king?

COLONIST (*after a nod of recognition from the President*). I admit conditions are very serious, but how can a few little struggling colonies fight so dangerous and so mighty a foe?

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Henry.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President, the time has come when talk should give place to decisive action. The war is here. We must fight or tamely submit to be slaves. I, therefore, move the adoption of the following resolution: —

> KNOWING that all efforts on the part of America to bring about a satisfactory settlement with England have failed, and being aware that her intention is to treat us as slaves, *Be it resolved*, That Virginia at once prepare herself to fight; and I would move that the following be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for the purpose: Nicholas Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, Thomas Jefferson.

Patrick Henry hands a copy of the resolution to the President.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the following resolution be adopted: —

> *Resolved*, That Virginia at once prepare herself to fight, and that Nicholas Harrison, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Edmund Pendleton, and Thomas Jefferson be a committee to prepare a plan for embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for the purpose.

Are you ready for the question?

COLONIST. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), I do not favor this. It is rash and unwise. We are n't yet ready to fight England.

COLONIST. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), I am opposed also. We are taking steps too fast. The other colonies are not being as bold as this.

COLONIST. Mr. President (*after a nod of recognition from the President*), I am opposed to our becoming slaves of England, yet I do not believe we are ready for armed resistance.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Henry.

PATRICK HENRY (*rises slowly and assumes a stooping attitude. He begins his speech somewhat calmly, but as he proceeds all the fire and excitement within him seem to play upon his features, and add strength and determination to his voice. His figure becomes more erect, and his tones grow louder and louder until, when he comes to the last words of his speech, it seems as if he were almost beside himself. His glaring eyes and pale face have such an effect upon his listeners that they lean*

forward in their seats in breathless excitement, their faces as pale, their eyes as glaring as his. The strain seems almost too great for both speaker and listeners. At last, when he has finished, a death-like stillness pervades every corner of the room. No one can raise a hand in applause, or find a word sacred enough to suit the occasion).

No man, Mr. President, thinks more highly than I do of the patriotism, as well as the abilities, of the very honorable gentlemen who have just addressed the House. But different men often see the same subject in different lights; and therefore I hope it will not be thought disrespectful to those gentlemen if, entertaining as I do opinions of a character very opposite to theirs, I should speak forth my sentiments freely, and without reserve. This is no time for ceremony. The question before the House is one of awful moment to this country. For my own part, I consider it as nothing less than a question of freedom or slavery. And in proportion to the magnitude of the subject ought to be the freedom of the debate. It is only in this way that we can hope to arrive at the truth, and fulfill the great responsibility which we hold to God and our country. Should I keep back my opinions at such a time, through fear of giving offense, I should consider myself as guilty of treason towards my country, and of an act of disloyalty towards the Majesty of Heaven, which I revere above all earthly kings.

Mr. President, it is natural to man to indulge in the illusions of hope. We are apt to shut our eyes against a painful truth, and listen to the song of the siren until she transforms us into beasts. Is this the part of wise men, engaged in a great and arduous struggle for liberty? Are we disposed to be of the number of those who, having eyes,

see not, and, having ears, hear not, the things which so nearly concern their temporal salvation? For my part, whatever anguish of spirit it may cost, I am willing to know the whole truth; to know the worst, and to provide for it.

I have but one lamp by which my feet are guided, and that is the lamp of experience. I know no way of judging of the future but by the past. And, judging by the past, I wish to know what there has been in the conduct of the British ministry, for the last ten years, to justify these hopes with which gentlemen have been pleased to solace themselves and the House. Is it that insidious smile with which our petition has been lately received? Trust it not, sirs; it will prove a snare to your feet. Suffer not yourselves to be betrayed with a kiss. Ask yourselves how this gracious reception of our petition comports with those warlike preparations which cover our waters and darken our land. Are fleets and armies necessary to a work of love and reconciliation? Have we shown ourselves so unwilling to be reconciled that force must be called in to win back our love? Let us not deceive ourselves, sir. These are the implements of war and subjugation — the last arguments to which kings resort.

I ask, gentlemen, sir, what means this martial array, if its purpose be not to force us to submission? Can gentlemen assign any other possible motive for it? Has Great Britain any enemy in this quarter of the world, to call for this accumulation of navies and armies? No, sir, she has none. They are meant for us: they can be meant for no other. They are sent over to bind and rivet upon us those chains which the British ministry have been so long forging.

And what have we to oppose them? Shall we try argument? Sir, we have been trying that for the last ten years. Have we anything new to offer upon the subject? Nothing.

We have held the subject up in every light of which it is capable; but it has been all in vain. Shall we resort to entreaty, and humble supplication? What terms shall we find which have not been already exhausted?

Let us not, I beseech you, sir, deceive ourselves longer. Sir, we have done everything that could be done to avert the storm which is now coming on. We have petitioned; we have remonstrated; we have supplicated; we have prostrated ourselves before the throne, and have implored its interposition to arrest the tyrannical hands of the ministry and Parliament. Our petitions have been slighted; our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult; our supplications have been disregarded; and we have been spurned with contempt from the foot of the throne.

In vain, after these things, may we indulge the fond hope of peace and reconciliation. There is no longer any room for hope. If we wish to be free; if we mean to preserve inviolate the inestimable privileges for which we have been so long contending; if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be obtained — we must fight! I repeat it, sir — we must fight! An appeal to arms, and to the God of hosts, is all that is left us!

They tell us, sir, that we are weak — unable to cope with so formidable an adversary. But when shall we be stronger? Will it be the next week, or the next year? Will it be when we are totally disarmed, and when a British guard shall be established in every house? Shall we gather strength by irresolution and inaction? Shall we acquire the means of effectual resistance by lying supinely on our backs, or hugging the delusive phantom of Hope, until our enemies shall have bound us hand and foot?

Sir, we are not weak, if we make a proper use of those

means which the God of nature hath placed in our power. Three millions of people armed in the holy cause of liberty, and in such a country as that which we possess, are invincible by any force which our enemy can send against us.

Besides, sir, we shall not fight our battles alone. There is a just God, Who presides over the destinies of nations, and Who will raise up friends to fight our battles for us. The battle, sir, is not to the strong alone: it is to the vigilant, the active, the brave. Besides, sir, we have no election. If we were base enough to desire it, it is now too late to retire from the contest. There is no retreat but in submission and slavery! Our chains are forged! Their clanking may be heard on the plains of Boston! The war is inevitable, and let it come. I repeat it, sir, let it come!

It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace, but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the north will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that the gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!

(*Perfect silence reigns for a short time.*)

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The question is on the adoption of the resolution as introduced by Patrick Henry. Are you ready for the question? (*Silence.*) As many as are in favor of the resolution, say *aye.* (*"Ayes" from all the colonists.*) Opposed, *no.* (*Silence.*)

The resolution is adopted.

(*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). We shall now proceed to the election by ballot of delegates to represent this colony in the General Convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, May 10. The tellers will please prepare the ballots.

Tellers pass ballots and each member writes or pretends to write a name on the slip of paper handed him. These are collected and counted by the tellers, one of whom reports the result to the Chair in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The following six men are chosen by this assemblage to attend the General Convention to be held in the city of Philadelphia, May 10: Peyton Randolph, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Richard Bland.

If there is nothing more to come before the meeting, a motion for adjournment is in order.

(*President remains standing.*)

EDMUND PENDLETON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Pendleton.

EDMUND PENDLETON. I move we adjourn.

BENJAMIN HARRISON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT. It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. Those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

(*All members shake hands with Patrick Henry.*)

POSTER

THERE is no longer any room for hope. . . . We must fight. . . . I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.

PATRICK HENRY

LETTER

PATRICK HENRY is the completest speaker I ever heard. If his future speeches are equal to the samples he has given us, they will be worth preserving; but in a letter I can give you no idea of the music of his voice, or the high-wrought yet natural elegance of his style and manner.

SILAS DEANE, Connecticut

SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

TIME: — May 10, 1775
PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia

CHARACTERS

JOHN HANCOCK, MASSACHUSETTS, PRESIDENT
JOHN ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS
SAMUEL ADAMS, MASSACHUSETTS
JOHN DICKINSON, DELAWARE
ROBERT LIVINGSTON, NEW YORK
JOHN JAY, NEW YORK
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, PENNSYLVANIA
GEORGE WASHINGTON, VIRGINIA
PATRICK HENRY, VIRGINIA
RICHARD BLAND, VIRGINIA
RICHARD HENRY LEE, VIRGINIA
THOMAS JEFFERSON, VIRGINIA
BENJAMIN HARRISON, VIRGINIA
EDMUND PENDLETON, VIRGINIA
ROGER SHERMAN, CONNECTICUT
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY

Thomas Jefferson takes the presiding officer's chair. Charles Thomson is seated at the secretary's table.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order.

(*Mr. Jefferson rises.*)

Gentlemen, I am here in the place of Peyton Randolph, who was called back to Virginia to preside over the Colonial Assembly. You must, therefore, elect a

new president for the Congress. Nominations are in order.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. DICKINSON. Mr. Chairman, I nominate John Hancock of Massachusetts.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). John Hancock is nominated. Are there any other nominations? (*Silence.*) All those in favor of John Hancock as president, say *aye.* (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

John Hancock has been elected unanimously. He will please take the chair.

BENJAMIN HARRISON (*as he escorts Mr. Hancock to the chair*). We will show Great Britain how much we value her proscriptions.

(*Applause.*)

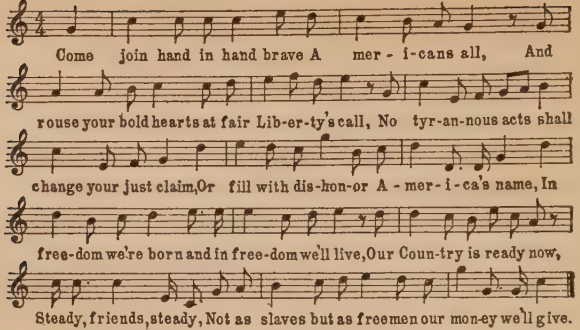
PRESIDENT (*rising*). Before beginning this session, let us all rise and sing The Liberty Song.

All rise and sing. (*The song may be learned during a music period.*)

THE LIBERTY SONG[1]

Come join hand in hand brave Americans all,
And rouse your bold hearts at fair Liberty's call;
No tyrannous acts shall change your just claim,
Or fill with dishonor America's name.
In freedom we 're born and in freedom we 'll live,
Our country is ready, now steady, friends, steady,
Not as slaves but as freemen our money we 'll give.

[1] From *A History of the American People* by Woodrow Wilson; courtesy of Harper and Brothers, publishers.


Come join hand in hand brave A mer - i-cans all, And
rouse your bold hearts at fair Lib-er-ty's call, No tyr-an-nous acts shall
change your just claim, Or fill with dis-hon-or A - mer - i - ca's name, In
free-dom we're born and in free-dom we'll live, Our Coun-try is ready now,
Steady, friends, steady, Not as slaves but as freemen our mon-ey we'll give.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). Our previous Congresses have merely discussed questions and passed resolutions. This Congress has a different purpose. It is to be a real government during this critical period. It will put itself in communication with foreign powers. It will manage the postal affairs. It must take charge of the army gathering around Boston. It must elect a man to be placed at the head of the Continental army. Most of us have brought ourselves to agree with Samuel Adams that a political separation from Great Britain is inevitable; but I think we are also agreed that any consideration of such a question at this time would be premature and uncalled for.

This Congress is a group of committees assembled for the purpose of advising with one another concerning the public welfare. Something like a state of war exists in a part of the country under conditions which vitally affect the whole, and, in the absence of a formally constituted government, something must be done to provide for such a crisis.

We are without money, without laws, without power to form a government. Congress must do what

it can to defend the colonies from harm. Its only power lies in the fact that every true Whig in the land stands ready to act as Congress directs. It must become the directing head of the American people.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. DICKINSON. While Congress recognizes a state of war, and is preparing for its vigorous prosecution, she must nevertheless disclaim any intention of casting off allegiance to the crown of England. I move that we prepare a new petition to the king and ask him to prevent war by recalling soldiers and repealing unjust laws.

PRESIDENT. Is there a second?

JOHN ADAMS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The motion has been made and seconded that we prepare a new petition to the king and ask him to prevent war by recalling soldiers and repealing unjust laws. Are you ready for the question?

(*Silence. President rises.*)

All those in favor of this motion, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

It is carried. I appoint John Dickinson and John Jay as a committee to prepare such a petition.

ROBERT LIVINGSTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. LIVINGSTON. While I approve of the petition which has just been authorized, I am nevertheless convinced that preparations for war must go steadily on. I move we raise 20,000 men as a Continental

army, the nucleus of which shall be the minutemen encamped around Boston.

RICHARD HENRY LEE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The motion is made and seconded that we raise 20,000 men as a Continental army, the nucleus of which shall be the minutemen encamped around Boston. Are you ready for the question?

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. DICKINSON. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this motion.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the motion. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the names of the following colonies: Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia, New York, North Carolina, and Rhode Island. The chairman of each colonial delegation responds to the name of his colony. All report "yes." In the case of a colony where no representatives are designated, any student may respond. The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is carried unanimously. Whom will you have at the head of the army? Remember, this is the most important step of all those that we are about to take. The whole issue,

whether it be defeat or victory, depends on our selection at this time.

JOHN ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

JOHN ADAMS. The man I am going to suggest is a man whose lofty stature and noble bearing proclaim him king among men. He has a stanch character, a stalwart, commanding appearance, marvelous self-control, and above all is noted for his extraordinarily sound judgment. His great talents and excellent character would command the approbation of all America and unite all the colonies better than any other person in the Union. The man to whom I refer is George Washington.

A look of surprise comes over the face of Mr. Washington and he leaves the room. All eyes follow him. He remains outside until a messsenger asks him to return.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Gentlemen, I declare a recess, that we may talk over this momentous question informally and privately.

All arise from their seats and collect in groups. While one is speaking, the others remain quiet.

BENJAMIN HARRISON. In no way could we secure the common interest of all America more than by putting the New England army in charge of a general who represents the greatest of the southern colonies.

JOHN JAY. His services in saving Braddock's army and in the capture of Fort Duquesne have won for him a reputation greater than that of any other American.

JOHN HANCOCK. Nothing in Washington's whole career is more remarkable than the fact that, when a mere boy of twenty-one, he should have been selected by the Governor of Virginia to take charge of the most dangerous mission the country had to offer at that time.

EDMUND PENDLETON. I doubt the propriety of placing this Southerner at the head of an army in New England, chiefly composed of New England troops, and now commanded by New England officers apparently equal to their functions.

ROGER SHERMAN. I believe Mr. Pendleton is right.

SAMUEL ADAMS. Although Mr. Washington's education has been meager, yet he possesses in the highest degree the rare faculty of always discussing the essential facts in every case and interpreting them correctly.

PATRICK HENRY. If you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionally the greatest man upon this floor.

The President calls the meeting to order by rapping on his desk with his gavel.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. JEFFERSON. I move that George Washington be made commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

JOHN ADAMS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It has been moved and seconded that George Washington be commander-in-chief of the Continental army. All those in favor, say

aye. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

The vote is unanimous. George Washington has been elected commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

(*Much applause.*)

PRESIDENT. May I ask the two delegates in the rear to find Colonel Washington and escort him to the chair?

In a few moments Washington is brought to the front amid enthusiastic applause.

PRESIDENT. It is my great honor to inform Colonel Washington that he has been elected commander-in-chief of the Continental army.

GEORGE WASHINGTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. WASHINGTON. Since the Congress desires, I will enter upon the momentous duty and exert every power I possess in its service, and for the support of the glorious cause. But I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in the room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity, I do not think myself equal to the command with which I am honored.

(*Applause.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). I believe this meeting has done everything within its power to prepare for the coming trials. A motion for adjournment is in order.

PATRICK HENRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

PATRICK HENRY. I move we adjourn.

RICHARD HENRY LEE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that

we adjourn. All those in favor say *aye.* (*Many "ayes."*) Those opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

All shake hands with Washington before leaving.

POSTERS

AMERICA has furnished to the world the character of Washington; if our American institutions had done nothing else, that alone would have entitled them to the respect of mankind.

DANIEL WEBSTER

THE more clearly Washington's teaching and example are understood, the more faithfully they are followed, the purer, the stronger, the more glorious will the Republic become.

CARL SCHURZ

THE name of Washington is intimately blended with whatever belongs most essentially to the prosperity, the liberty, the free institutions, and the renown of our country.

DANIEL WEBSTER

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

TIME: — June 7; July 2; July 4, 1776

PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CHARACTERS

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOSIAH BARTLETT
WILLIAM WHIPPLE
MATTHEW THORNTON

MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN HANCOCK
SAMUEL ADAMS
JOHN ADAMS
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
ELBRIDGE GERRY

RHODE ISLAND

STEPHEN HOPKINS
WILLIAM ELLERY

CONNECTICUT

ROGER SHERMAN
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON
WILLIAM WILLIAMS
OLIVER WOLCOTT

NEW YORK

WILLIAM FLOYD
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
FRANCIS LEWIS
LEWIS MORRIS

NEW JERSEY

RICHARD STOCKTON
JOHN WITHERSPOON
FRANCIS HOPKINSON
JOHN HART
ABRAHAM CLARK

PENNSYLVANIA

ROBERT MORRIS
BENJAMIN RUSH
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
JOHN MORTON
GEORGE CLYMER
JAMES SMITH
GEORGE TAYLOR
JAMES WILSON
GEORGE ROSS

DELAWARE

CÆSAR RODNEY
GEORGE READ
THOMAS M'KEAN

MARYLAND

SAMUEL CHASE
WILLIAM PACA
THOMAS STONE
CHARLES CARROLL

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
JOHN PENN

GEORGIA

BUTTON GWINNETT
LYMAN HALL
GEORGE WALTON

VIRGINIA

GEORGE WYTHE
RICHARD HENRY LEE
THOMAS JEFFERSON
BENJAMIN HARRISON
THOMAS NELSON, JR.
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE

SOUTH CAROLINA

EDWARD RUTLEDGE
THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.
THOMAS LYNCH, JR.
ARTHUR MIDDLETON

PRESIDENT,

JOHN HANCOCK

SECRETARY,

CHARLES THOMSON

TELLERS
CLERK

The chairmanship of each colonial delegation should be assigned to some student at the time when the parts are given out.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ACT I

TIME: — June 7, 1776

PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

CHARACTERS

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT
CÆSAR RODNEY
BENJAMIN HARRISON
CHARLES CARROLL
ROGER SHERMAN
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
THOMAS NELSON
EDWARD RUTLEDGE
JAMES WILSON
SAMUEL ADAMS
RICHARD HENRY LEE
ROBERT TREAT PAINE
STEPHEN HOPKINS
THOMAS M'KEAN
ROBERT MORRIS
GEORGE READ
JOHN ADAMS
WILLIAM WHIPPLE
ELBRIDGE GERRY
LEWIS MORRIS
RICHARD STOCKTON
FRANCIS HOPKINSON
THOMAS JEFFERSON
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY
TELLERS

As many more students should be assigned the names of the other delegates as the numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

John Hancock, as presiding officer, is seated in the front of the room. Other colonists are arranged in chairs or at desks before him. Secretary Thomson is seated at a table and seems to be recording all that is taking place.

There should be another chair placed in the front of the room for the Chairman of the Committee of the Whole.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order. We shall listen to the roll call by the Secretary.

Secretary calls the roll in the following manner: —

PHILIP LIVINGSTON	NEW YORK
EDWARD RUTLEDGE	SOUTH CAROLINA

See beginning of dramatization for lists of names. Each delegate answers to his name by "here" or "present." In order to indicate the presence of all delegates, some students should respond to more than one name.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). Gentlemen, we are gathered here to-day to see what course we should pursue in the present crisis. It is useless for me to review conditions as they exist. You know what they are as well as I. You are all aware that the king has refused even to look at the "Declaration of Rights and Grievances" sent by Congress. His only answer was to send promptly 16,000 German soldiers to put down the "armed rebellion in America." I say something must be done. Some action must be taken. Shall the colonists submit to all this?

(*President remains standing.*)

CHORUS. No! No!

PRESIDENT. Shall we try to make peace and let England send us governors again to oppress us?

CHORUS. No! No!

PRESIDENT. Shall we declare ourselves independent of England? (*Silence.*) I should like to hear from the

delegates of the various colonies in regard to the matter of separation.

(*President sits.*)

CÆSAR RODNEY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. RODNEY. I make a motion that the Congress resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole that we may consider this question with more freedom.

DELEGATE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that Congress resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole. All those in favor, say *aye.* (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

It is carried. The Congress will resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole to consider the question. Will Benjamin Harrison take the chair.

Mr. Harrison takes his place as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole and Mr. Hancock takes a seat among the others. The Chairman should not sit in the President's chair, but should occupy one placed in the front of the room for that purpose.

ROGER SHERMAN. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sherman.

MR. SHERMAN. I think it is absolutely impracticable for our colonies to be ever again subject to or dependent upon Great Britain. Separation must come.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Yes, the king has imposed

taxes upon us without our consent. One of the worst of his measures was the Stamp Act. When I was sent to England to interview him, I tried to show him how unreasonable he was, but my efforts were of no avail.

THOMAS NELSON. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. NELSON. 'T is true, the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries, for he has refused his assent to laws which are most wholesome and necessary for the public good. I also favor separation.

RICHARD HENRY LEE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Virginia.

RICHARD LEE. Since the majority of our delegates are for independence, I move the adoption of the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

(*Hands copy of resolution to the Chairman.*)

LEWIS MORRIS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that we adopt the following resolution: —

> *Resolved*, That these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

Are you ready for the question?

CÆSAR RODNEY. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. RODNEY. I think we should wait for a time and see if the king is not of better mind.

CHARLES CARROLL. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Maryland.

MR. CARROLL. This would be of no use. We all know that George III is a tyrant. We have waited and waited in vain for any act on his part to show that he is going to lessen the impression. I favor immediate separation from the mother country.

(*Applause.*)

THOMAS M'KEAN. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. M'KEAN. The declaration would not strengthen the resources of the country by a single regiment, while it would shut the door upon all hope of accommodation with Great Britain.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. RUTLEDGE. The king has kept among us in times of peace standing armies without the consent of our legislatures. He has plundered our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people. Do you want peace under such intolerable conditions?

VOICES (*with applause*). No! No!

MR. RUTLEDGE. Then separation is the only remedy.

JAMES WILSON. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. WILSON. I wonder if we are n't too hasty in this action; if it would n't be better to wait a little longer on the ground that public opinion in the middle colonies is not ripe yet for supporting such a measure.

SAMUEL ADAMS (*springing to his feet, without waiting for recognition*). I say no! If we are to put this off, the chances are we shall wait until it is too late. I say now is the time for action.

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. RUTLEDGE. It seems to me that we should have time to think this over and invite the judgment of those colonies that have not yet declared themselves. I, therefore, should like to make a motion that we postpone further consideration of this resolution until July second.

ROGER SHERMAN. I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). A motion has been made and seconded that consideration of this resolution be postponed until July second. Are you ready for the question? (*Silence.*)

All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*) The *ayes* have it and the motion is carried.

ROBERT TREAT PAINE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. PAINE. I make a motion that the Committee rise and report that no action was taken on the resolution introduced by Richard Henry Lee, and that

the motion was carried that all further consideration of this resolution be postponed until July second.

STEPHEN HOPKINS. I second the motion.

CHAIRMAN. It is moved and seconded that the Committee rise and report that no action was taken on the resolution as introduced by Richard Henry Lee, and that a motion was passed that all further consideration of this resolution be postponed until July second. Those in favor say *aye.* (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

It is carried.

The presiding officer now takes the chair again, and the Chairman of the Committee, Benjamin Harrison, resumes his place in the assembly.

BENJAMIN HARRISON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. HARRISON. The Committee of the Whole has had under consideration the following resolution: —

> *Resolved,* That these United Colonies are and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

No action was taken on it, but the motion was carried that all further consideration of this resolution be postponed until July second.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). What is the pleasure of the Congress in regard to this matter?

ROBERT MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS. I make a motion that Congress adopt the motion as passed by the Committee of the Whole.

MR. READ. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that Congress adopt the motion as passed by the Committee of the Whole. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The *ayes* have it and the motion is carried.

RICHARD HENRY LEE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. LEE. I should also like to make a motion that a committee of five be chosen by ballot to draft a Declaration of Independence.

JOHN ADAMS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). A motion has been made and seconded that a committee of five be chosen by ballot to draft a Declaration of Independence. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

It is carried.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Nominations are in order.

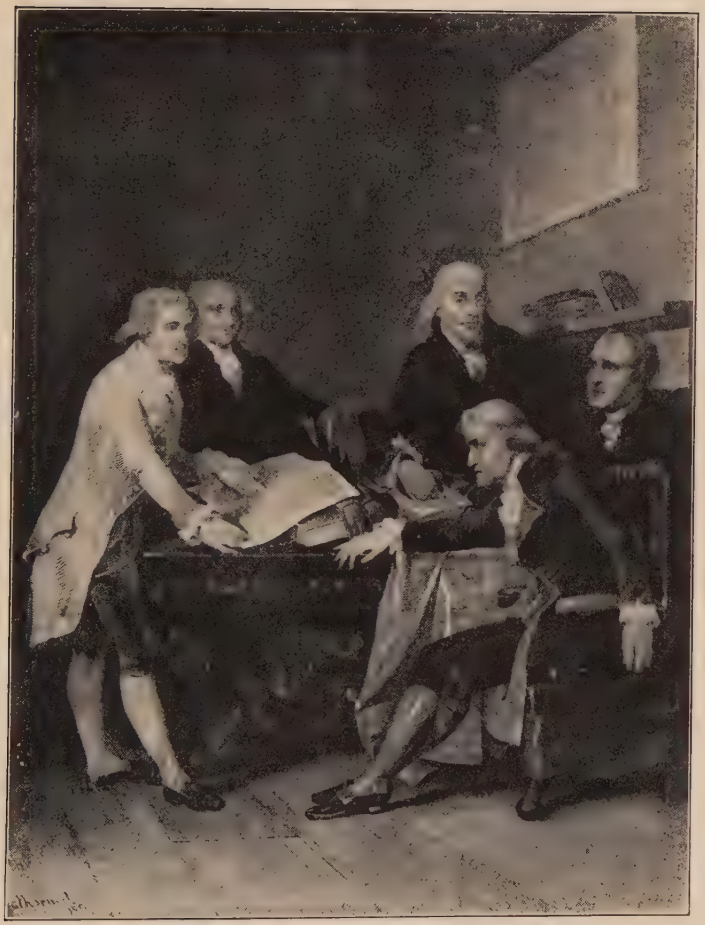
WILLIAM WHIPPLE. Mr. President, I nominate Thomas Jefferson.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Thomas Jefferson is nominated.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. Mr. President, I nominate Robert Livingston.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Robert Livingston is nominated.

STEPHEN HOPKINS. Mr. President, I nominate Roger Sherman.



Photograph from The Mentor Association, New York

THE COMMITTEE ON THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, R. R. Livingston, Roger Sherman

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Roger Sherman is nominated.

LEWIS MORRIS. Mr. President, I nominate Benjamin Franklin.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Benjamin Franklin is nominated.

CÆSAR RODNEY. Mr. President, I nominate John Adams.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). John Adams is nominated.

RICHARD STOCKTON. Mr. President, I nominate Elbridge Gerry.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Elbridge Gerry is nominated.

FRANCIS HOPKINSON. Mr. President, I nominate Robert Treat Paine.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Robert Treat Paine is nominated.

Are there any other nominations?

(*Silence.*)

RICHARD STOCKTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. STOCKTON. If there are no other nominations, I move that the nominations be closed.

CÆSAR RODNEY. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that the nominations be closed. All those in favor, rise. (*All rise.*) Be seated. Those opposed, rise. (*All remain seated.*)

The nominations are closed. Will the tellers please prepare the ballots.

Each delegate writes a name on the ballot handed him. They are collected and counted by the tellers, one of whom communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The following men have been chosen: Thomas Jefferson, Robert Livingston, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams. Thomas Jefferson, receiving the highest number of votes, is Chairman of the Committee and writer of the important document.

THOMAS JEFFERSON (*rising and turning to John Adams*). Mr. Adams, I suggest that you make the draft.

(*Mr. Jefferson remains standing.*)

MR. ADAMS (*rising*). I will not.

(*Mr. Adams remains standing.*)

MR. JEFFERSON. You should do it.

MR. ADAMS. Oh, no!

MR. JEFFERSON. Why will you not? You ought to do it.

MR. ADAMS. I will not.

MR. JEFFERSON. Why?

MR. ADAMS. Reasons enough. Reason first, you are a Virginian and a Virginian ought to appear at the head of this business. Reason second, I am obnoxious, suspected, and unpopular. You are very much otherwise. Reason third, you can write ten times better than I can.

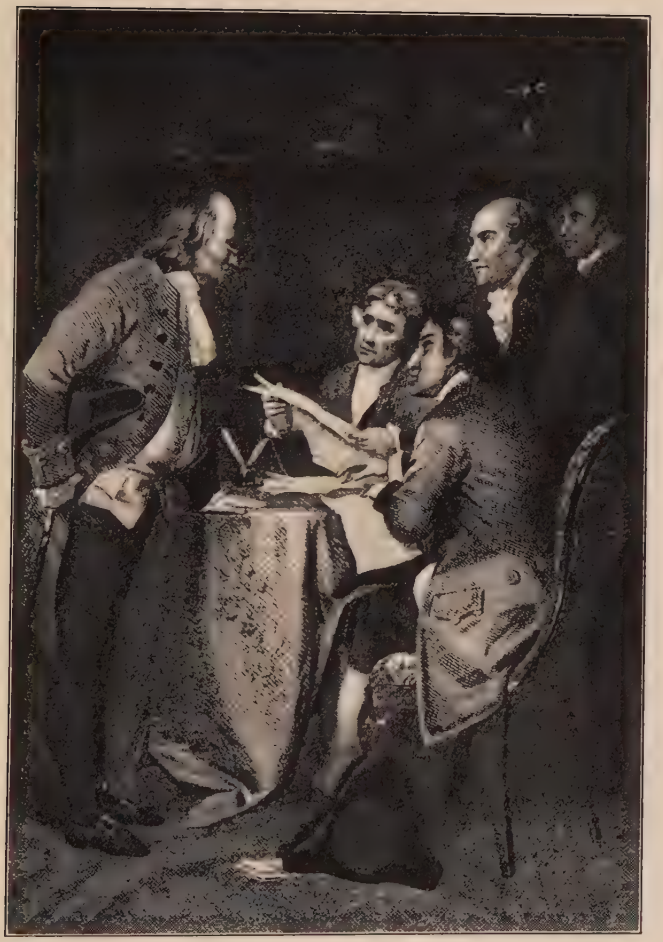
MR. JEFFERSON. Well, if you are decided, I will do as well as I can.

MR. ADAMS. Very well. When you have drawn it up, we shall have a meeting.

(*Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams sit.*)

EDWARD RUTLEDGE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.



Photograph from The Mentor Association, New York

DRAFTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Sherman, R. R. Livingston

MR. RUTLEDGE. I move we adjourn until July second.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It has been moved and seconded that we adjourn until July second. All in favor say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*) It is carried. We stand adjourned.

(*All pass out.*)

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ACT II

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

TIME: — July 2, 1776
PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia

CHARACTERS

JOHN HANCOCK	SAMUEL CHASE
THOMAS JEFFERSON	CÆSAR RODNEY
ELBRIDGE GERRY	STEPHEN HOPKINS
ROBERT MORRIS	ROBERT PAINE
JOHN ADAMS	CHARLES THOMSON,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	SECRETARY

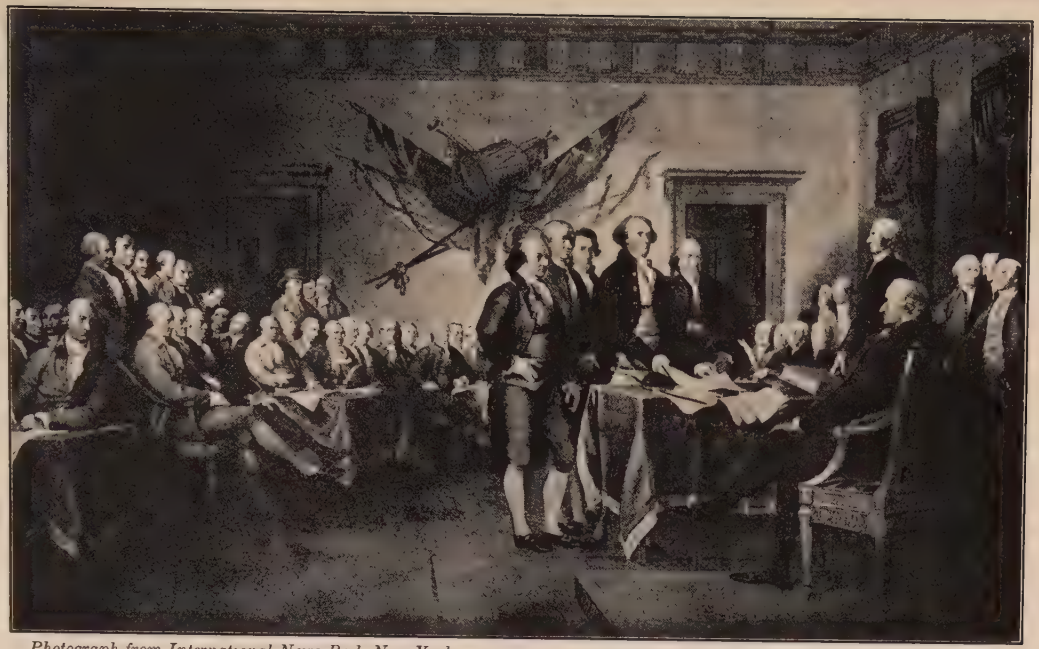
CLERK

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

John Hancock is again President and Charles Thomson is Secretary. The Clerk sits at his side.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the meeting please come to order. We shall listen to the roll call by the Secretary.

The Secretary calls the roll the same as in Act I. Each delegate responds to his name by "here" or "present." In order to indicate the presence of all the delegates that are listed at the beginning of the dramatization, some students should reply to more than one name.



Photograph from International News Reel, New York

REPORTING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The Committee, from left to right: John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin. John Hancock in President's chair.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). We have met to-day to vote on the resolution offered in Congress on June seventh, by Richard Henry Lee. Will the Clerk please read the resolution.

The Clerk stands and reads as follows:

> *Resolved*, That these United Colonies are and of right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.

SAMUEL CHASE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

MR. CHASE. Mr. President, I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this resolution.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Maryland requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the resolution. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the roll, by colonies, the chairman of each colonial delegation answering for his colony. These chairmen should have been determined previously and should vote as follows:

NEW HAMPSHIRE	*Yes*	DELAWARE	*Yes*
CONNECTICUT	*Yes*	NORTH CAROLINA	*Yes*
PENNSYLVANIA	*Yes*	GEORGIA	*Yes*
VIRGINIA	*Yes*	RHODE ISLAND	*Yes*
MASSACHUSETTS	*Yes*	NEW JERSEY	*Yes*
NEW YORK	*No instructions*	MARYLAND	*Yes*
		SOUTH CAROLINA	*Yes*

The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The consent is unanimous with the exception of New York.

(*Applause.*)

Will Thomas Jefferson please read the Declaration as drawn up by the committee?

Great applause as Mr. Jefferson rises and crosses to the platform in a most dignified manner.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Mr. President, Honorable Members of Congress.

Glances for a moment in the direction of those addressed, and then begins to read from manuscript:—

A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable, that all men are created equal and independent, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness; that to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles,

and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free and independent states they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

Hands document to President. There is perfect silence for a few moments after the reading of the Declaration, and then all burst forth in great applause.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Has anyone any corrections he would like to make to the document?[1]

ELBRIDGE GERRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. GERRY. I should like to change the statement, "We hold these truths to be sacred and undeniable," to "We hold these truths to be self-evident."

[1] These corrections refer, of course, to the entire Declaration, not the abbreviated one given here.

ROBERT MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. I should like to change the expression, "All men are created equal and independent," to "All men are created equal."

JOHN ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. ADAMS. I should criticize the document because it has nothing new or original in it.

THOMAS JEFFERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. JEFFERSON. My aim was merely to put in plain English the grievances and rights of the colonies, based on principles that were or ought to be recognized by all.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. FRANKLIN. I would suggest we substitute "free people" for "people who mean to be free."

SAMUEL CHASE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Chase.

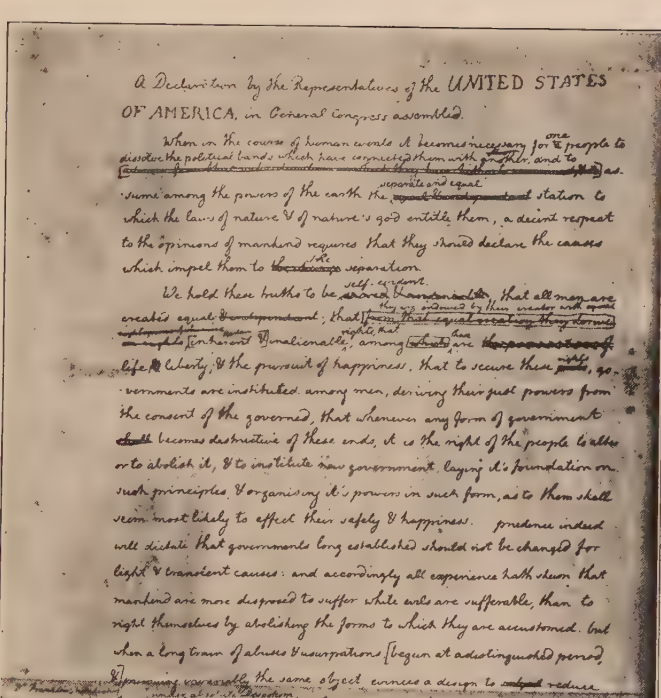
MR. CHASE. I should like to omit the words, "We must forget our former love for them."

John Hancock turns toward Thomas Jefferson, hands him the document and says, "I hand back the document and suggest that the language of the amendments and that of the document be made harmonious."

CÆSAR RODNEY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. RODNEY. I move that a vote on the Declara-



A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal & independant, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inherent & inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness. that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on such principles & organising it's powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. prudence indeed will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. but when a long train of abuses & usurpations [begun at a distinguished period] pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, & such is now the necessity which constrains them to expunge their former systems of government. the history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. [for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood.]

Photograph by Brown Bros.

FIRST PAGE OF JEFFERSON'S ORIGINAL DRAFT OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

tion, with the amendments, be taken day after to-morrow, July fourth.

ROBERT MORRIS. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made and seconded that a vote on the new Declaration be taken day after to-morrow, July fourth. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

It is carried. We shall meet here July fourth for the purpose of voting on the Declaration. A motion for adjournment is in order.

STEPHEN HOPKINS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Rhode Island.

MR. HOPKINS. I move we adjourn.

ROBERT PAINE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor? (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed? (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

ACT III

CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

TIME: — July 4, 1776
PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia

CHARACTERS

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT
SAMUEL ADAMS
PHILIP LIVINGSTON
THOMAS JEFFERSON
ELBRIDGE GERRY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
BENJAMIN HARRISON
JAMES WILSON
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

John Hancock is again President and Charles Thomson is Secretary.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order. We shall listen to the roll call by the Secretary.

The Secretary calls the roll, the same as in Acts I and II. Each delegate should respond to his name by "here" or "present." In order to indicate the presence of all the delegates who are listed at the beginning of the dramatization, some students should respond to more than one name.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). We are assembled to-day

for the purpose of voting on the Declaration of Independence. Will Thomas Jefferson please read it with the changes suggested. (*Chairman sits.*)

THOMAS JEFFERSON (*reads*).

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable[1] Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. . . .

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare,

[1] This word was written correctly (inalienable) in the original Declaration, but a facsimile of the corrected draft shows that it was copied incorrectly and never changed.

That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. — And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our Sacred Honor. (*Prolonged applause.*)

JAMES WILSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. WILSON. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on his resolution.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Pennsylvania requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the resolution. Will the Secretary call the roll.

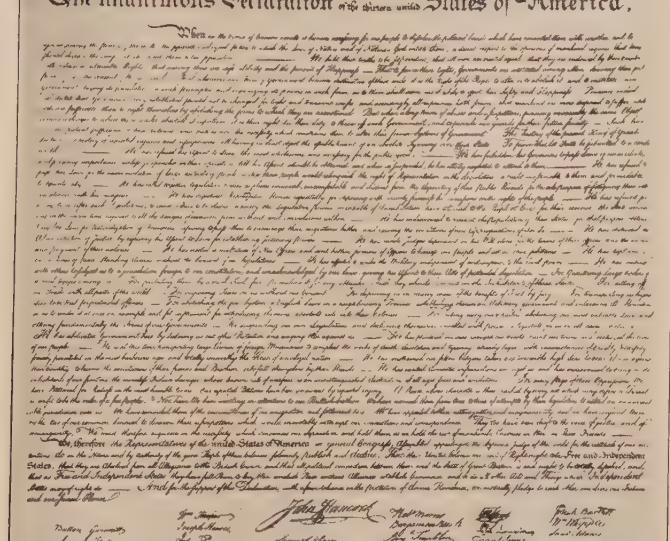
SECRETARY.

NEW HAMPSHIRE	*Yes*	DELAWARE	*Yes*
CONNECTICUT	*Yes*	NORTH CAROLINA	*Yes*
PENNSYLVANIA	*Yes*	GEORGIA	*Yes*
VIRGINIA	*Yes*	RHODE ISLAND	*Yes*
MASSACHUSETTS	*Yes*	NEW JERSEY	*Yes*
NEW YORK	*Yes*	MARYLAND	*Yes*
SOUTH CAROLINA	*Yes*		

The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The consent is unanimous.

Wild enthusiasm is shown by all. After the voting is finished, John Hancock leaves his chair, goes


IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776

The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America,

Photograph by International News Reel

FACSIMILE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

up to the document, which should be lying on the Secretary's table, takes the pen in his hand, and signs it. As he does this, he remarks, "There, John Bull can read my name without spectacles." He then turns about, faces the delegates, and says, "Now, we must all hang together."

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (*seated*). Yes, or we shall all hang separately. (*Applause.*)

"CORPULENT" HARRISON TO "LEAN" GERRY (*seated*). I shall have the advantage of you; for my neck, probably, will be broken at the first drop, whereas you may have to dangle for half an hour. (*All laugh.*)

SAMUEL ADAMS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

SAMUEL ADAMS. I move that the document be engrossed on parchment, and signed by the members later in the year. I would also move that copies be sent to King George and to the different legislatures of each colony, and that it be publicly read in Independence Square on the following Monday at noon.

PHILIP LIVINGSTON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made and seconded that the document be engrossed on parchment, and signed by the members later in the year; also that copies be sent to King George and to the different legislatures of each colony, and that it be publicly read in Independence Square on the following Monday at noon. All those in favor say *aye.* (*Many "ayes."*) Opposed, *no.* (*No "noes."*)

It is carried. (*Tremendous applause.*)

BENJAMIN HARRISON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

BENJAMIN HARRISON. I make a motion that we adjourn.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Response is unanimous.*) Opposed, *no*. (*Silence.*)

We stand adjourned.

All shake hands with one another and pass out amid much exultation and joy.

POSTERS

As soon as I heard of American independence, my heart was enlisted. LAFAYETTE

LET us accept nothing short of Independence.
GEORGE WASHINGTON

WHERE liberty dwells. there is my country.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN

I HAVE never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in The Declaration of Independence.
ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Photograph by Philip B. Wallace, Philadelphia

SIGNING OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

TIME: — May 25–September 17, 1787

PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Fifty-five delegates attended. Only the most prominent ones are mentioned. Rhode Island is the only colony not represented.

CHARACTERS

MASSACHUSETTS

JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN
ELBRIDGE GERRY
RUFUS KING

CONNECTICUT

SAMUEL JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN
WILLIAM JOHNSON

NEW YORK

OLIVER ELLSWORTH
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

NEW HAMPSHIRE

JOHN LANGDON

NEW JERSEY

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY
WILLIAM PATERSON
JONATHAN DAYTON

PENNSYLVANIA

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBERT MORRIS
GEORGE CLYMER
THOMAS FITZSIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS

DELAWARE

GEORGE READ
GUNNING BEDFORD
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACO BROOM

MARYLAND

LUTHER MARTIN
JAMES McHENRY
DANIEL CARROLL

VIRGINIA

EDMUND RANDOLPH
GEORGE WASHINGTON
JOHN BLAIR
JAMES MADISON
GEORGE WYTHE
GEORGE MASON

NORTH CAROLINA

WILLIAM BLOUNT
RICHARD SPAIGHT
HUGH WILLIAMSON

SOUTH CAROLINA

JOHN RUTLEDGE
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER

GEORGIA

WILLIAM FEW
ABRAHAM BALDWIN

SECRETARY,
WILLIAM JACKSON

The selection of the chairman of each delegation should be made at the same time that the students choose the names of the men they are to represent.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ACT I

TIME: — May 25–September 17, 1787
PLACE: — Independence Hall

CHARACTERS

CHAIRMAN
GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT
ROBERT MORRIS
JOHN RUTLEDGE
EDMUND RANDOLPH
JAMES WILSON
ALEXANDER HAMILTON
WILLIAM PATERSON
JAMES WILSON
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS
JOHN DAYTON
JOHN DICKINSON
RUFUS KING
DAVID BREARLEY
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
ROGER SHERMAN
LUTHER MARTIN
ELBRIDGE GERRY
ABRAHAM BALDWIN
RICHARD BASSETT
JAMES MADISON
JOHN BLAIR
CHARLES PINCKNEY
JOHN LANGDON
ABRAHAM BALDWIN
WILLIAM JACKSON, SECRETARY

As many more students should be assigned the names of the other delegates as the numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

A delegate takes the chair to act as temporary chairman.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). The meeting will come to order. We shall proceed to elect a president for the convention.

ROBERT MORRIS. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

ROBERT MORRIS. I nominate George Washington.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). George Washington is nominated. Are there any other nominations?

(*No response. Chairman rises.*)

All those in favor of George Washington as president of this convention, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

Mr. Washington is elected unanimously. Will he please take the chair.

(*Continuous applause until he is seated.*)

PRESIDENT. We shall proceed to elect a secretary. Nominations are in order.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. I nominate William Jackson.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). William Jackson is nominated. Are there any other nominations?

(*No response. President rises.*)

All those in favor of William Jackson as secretary, say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Those opposed, say *no*. (*No "noes."*)

Mr. Jackson is elected unanimously. Will he please take the secretary's chair.

Mr. Jackson takes a chair by a table in the front of the room. President sits.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the roll of names as given at the beginning of the dramatization. He should call the state after each person's name, as: "Robert

Morris — Pennsylvania." Each colonist responds by "present." In addition to the names in the list, he calls Patrick Henry, Charles Carroll, Richard Henry Lee. No response is heard after the calling of each of those names. In order to indicate the presence of all the delegates with the exception of those mentioned above, it will be necessary for some students to respond to more than one name.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. HAMILTON. I move that nothing spoken in the House be printed or otherwise published or communicated without leave.

WILLIAM PATERSON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is made and seconded that nothing spoken in the House be printed or otherwise published or communicated without leave.

All those in favor say *aye.* (*"Ayes" are heard from all sides.*) Opposed? (*No "noes."*) It is carried.

Gentlemen, the purpose for which this meeting is called is well known to all of you. We have a great responsibility placed upon us, for it has been left to us to provide for a more perfect union between the states. We are all aware of the weakness of the Articles of Confederation. We have no president to execute the laws. We have no supreme court to judge the laws. There is no senate to help make the laws. We can make war and peace, enter into treaties with foreign powers, coin money and borrow money, but

we cannot make or enforce any laws. The states are supreme.

Congress cannot collect a dollar by taxation. It has power only to request the states, and they can do as they choose about paying. Congress cannot regulate commerce or enforce treaties. It has no power to prevent the states from issuing paper money.

Gentlemen, these are all grave defects. I should like to hear suggestions from the different members in regard to the best policy for us to pursue.

(*Chairman sits.*)

JAMES WILSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. WILSON. I think the wisest course is to revise the Articles of Confederation.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. This cannot be. We cannot patch up the old Articles and have any sort of instrument that will be satisfactory. We must establish a government with supreme legislative, judicial, and executive departments. We must have a Congress that is not merely an agent of the states, but a government of the whole people.

JOHN DAYTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. DAYTON. I believe we must be careful to produce an instrument that will please the people.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. RANDOLPH. When the salvation of the repub-

lic is at stake, it would be treason to our trust not to propose what we find necessary.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. HAMILTON. As long as we are here only for the purpose of recommending a scheme which will have to be submitted to the states for acceptance, we need not be deterred by any false scruples from using our wits to the best possible advantage.

GEORGE WASHINGTON (*rising*). It is probable that no plan we propose will be adopted. Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I have a plan here that the Virginia delegates have drawn up. It is this: We propose a national government with two houses of Congress and proportioned representation.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. DICKINSON. I object. If votes are to be given the states in proportion to their population or wealth, the largest state would have sixteen times as much power as the smallest.

RUFUS KING. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. KING. You can plainly see that if each state

is not allowed as many representatives as its neighbor, the big states will soon swallow up the little ones.

WILLIAM PATERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. PATERSON. I would propose a confederate government with one house of Congress.

ROBERT MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. If Pennsylvania has ten times as many people as Delaware, why should not these people have ten times as many persons to represent them in the new government? Surely, if the convention is to provide for a government springing directly from the people and making laws directly for the people, there should not be as many representatives from the smaller states as from the larger ones.

DAVID BREARLEY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. BREARLEY. According to this plan, Virginia, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania will carry everything before them. It is known to me from facts within New Jersey that, where large and small counties are united into a district for electing representatives for the district, the large counties always carry their point, and consequently the large states would do so. Is it fair, on the other hand, that Georgia should have an equal vote with Virginia? I should say it was not. What remedy then? One only: that a map of the United States be spread out, that all the existing boundaries be erased, and that a new partition of the whole be made into thirteen equal parts.

WILLIAM PATERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. PATERSON. Yes, a confederacy supposes sovereignty in the numbers composing it, and sovereignty supposes equality. If we are to be considered as a nation, all state distinctions must be abolished, the whole must be thrown into a hotchpot, and when an equal division is made, then there may be fairly an equality of representatives. If the great states wish to unite on such a plan, let them unite if they please, but let them remember that they have no authority to compel the others to unite. Shall I submit the welfare of New Jersey with five votes in a council where Virginia has sixteen? I will never consent to the proposed plan. I will not only oppose it here, but on my return home will do everything in my power to defeat it there. Neither my state nor myself will ever submit to tyranny.

JAMES WILSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. WILSON. Look at the absurdity of giving one hundred eighty thousand men in one part of the country as much weight in the national legislature as seven hundred fifty thousand in another part. It is unjust. The gentleman from New Jersey is candid. He declares his opinions boldly. I commend him for it. I shall be equally candid. I never will confederate on his principles.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. FRANKLIN. Mr. President, we were sent here

to consult — not to contend, and to declare a fixed opinion in a stubborn determination never to change it will neither enlighten nor convince anyone. I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more proofs I see of this truth — that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable an empire can rise without His aid? Each side must give up something to the other. When a broad table is to be made, and the edges of the planks do not fit, the artist takes a little from both and makes a good joint. In like manner both sides here must part from some of their demands in order to make a good union.

ROGER SHERMAN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut.

MR. SHERMAN. I should like to propose a compromise. It is this: Congress should consist of two houses. The lower house, or House of Representatives, should be based on proportional representation; while in the upper house, the Senate, each state, great or small, should have two members.

LUTHER MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Maryland.

MR. MARTIN. No compromise for us. You must give each state an equal suffrage, or our business is at an end.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. HAMILTON. Mr. Sherman's plan seems to me a very fair settlement of the differences existing between the large and small states. I should

like to move that the Connecticut Compromise be accepted.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the Connecticut Compromise be accepted. Are you ready for the question?

RICHARD BASSETT. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. BASSETT. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Delaware requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the motion. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the names and records the votes of the states as follows: —

CONNECTICUT	*Yes*	MASSACHUSETTS	*Divided*
NORTH CAROLINA	*Yes*	PENNSYLVANIA	*No*
NEW JERSEY	*Yes*	VIRGINIA	*No*
DELAWARE	*Yes*	GEORGIA	*No*
MARYLAND	*Yes*	SOUTH CAROLINA	*No*
NEW HAMPSHIRE	*Yes*	NEW YORK	*Not voting*

Each decision is given by the student who is chairman of his state delegation. The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is carried, six states voting for and four against.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Georgia.

MR. BALDWIN. In counting the people for determination of the number of representatives for each state, of course the slaves will be counted.

WILLIAM PATERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. PATERSON. Of course not. They ought not to be counted any more than any northern property — horses or cattle. We are willing you should count the slaves for taxes but not for representation.

John Rutledge from South Carolina springs to his feet and talks without recognition from the President.

MR. RUTLEDGE. I take exactly the opposite view. We should count the slaves for representation, but not for taxes.

RICHARD BASSETT. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. BASSETT. As slaves have no vote and are bought and sold like other property, they should not be counted in the census that makes up the representation in Congress or for the laying of direct taxes.

WILLIAM PATERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. PATERSON. Has a man in Virginia a number of votes in proportion to the number of his slaves? And if negroes are not represented in the states to which they belong, why should they be represented in the general government?

If a meeting of the people were to take place in a slave state, would the slaves vote? They would not. Why then should they be represented in a federal government?

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. I can never agree to give such encouragement to the slave trade as would be given by allowing the southern states a representative for their negroes. I should sooner submit myself to a tax for the purchase of all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a constitution.

JAMES MADISON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MADISON. I should like to suggest a compromise. It is this: that in counting population, whether for direct taxation or for representation in the lower house of Congress, five slaves should be reckoned as three individuals.

(*Hands copy of compromise to President.*)

JAMES WILSON (*springing to his feet*). There is neither rhyme nor reason in this.

ROBERT MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. Mr. President, I believe without such a compromise the Constitution cannot exist. I move that the compromise as suggested by Mr. Madison be adopted.

JOHN RUTLEDGE. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that the following compromise be adopted: In counting population, whether for direct taxation or for representation in the lower house of Congress, five slaves should be reckoned as three individuals.

WILLIAM PATERSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Jersey.

MR. PATERSON. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from New Jersey requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the motion. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The response is as follows from the chairmen of the state delegations: —

MASSACHUSETTS	*Yes*	NEW JERSEY	*Yes*
DELAWARE	*Yes*	PENNSYLVANIA	*Yes*
NEW YORK	*Yes*	GEORGIA	*Divided*
CONNECTICUT	*Yes*	NORTH CAROLINA	*No*
MARYLAND	*No*	SOUTH CAROLINA	*Yes*
VIRGINIA	*Yes*	NEW HAMPSHIRE	*Not present*

The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT. It is carried. Eight voted *yes* and two voted *no*.

ROGER SHERMAN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut.

MR. SHERMAN. I should like to see Congress given full control over foreign and interstate commerce.

JOHN BLAIR. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. BLAIR. I should object to this very much. That would mean the South would suffer extremely were an export tax placed on farm products and the slave trade prohibited.

JOHN DICKINSON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

JOHN DICKINSON. Should n't the slave trade be prohibited anyway?

MANY DELEGATES. Yes! Yes!

JOHN RUTLEDGE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

MR. RUTLEDGE. We must have a constant supply of blacks for the rice swamps. No, if slavery is forbidden, South Carolina will not join the Union.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN (*seated*). Neither will Georgia.

CHARLES PINCKNEY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from South Carolina.

CHARLES PINCKNEY. South Carolina would consider a vote to abolish the slave trade as simply a polite way of telling her that she is not wanted in the Union.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. GERRY. It will not do to allow the several states any longer to regulate commerce each according to its own whim. It is of vital importance that this power should be taken from the states and lodged in Congress; otherwise the Union will soon be rent in pieces by neighboring states.

GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. MORRIS. Let 's see if we can't compromise on this as we have on the other questions. I should suggest that the slave trade be permitted to continue for twenty years, and that Congress regulate commerce by a majority vote, but that no duties should be laid on exports. I wish to put this before the Convention as a motion.

(*Hands President a copy of the compromise.*)

JOHN LANGDON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). It is moved and seconded that

the slave trade be permitted to continue for twenty years, and that Congress regulate commerce by a majority vote, but that no duties should be laid on exports.

ABRAHAM BALDWIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Baldwin.

MR. BALDWIN. I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Georgia requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the motion. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The roll call results as follows: —

CONNECTICUT	*Yes*	PENNSYLVANIA	*Yes*
NORTH CAROLINA	*Yes*	VIRGINIA	*No*
NEW JERSEY	*Yes*	GEORGIA	*Yes*
DELAWARE	*Yes*	SOUTH CAROLINA	*Yes*
MARYLAND	*Yes*	NEW HAMPSHIRE	*Yes*
MASSACHUSETTS	*Yes*	NEW YORK	*Yes*

The Secretary communicates the result to the President in writing.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is carried, there being eleven *yeas* and one *nay*.

Gentlemen, there are many other momentous questions that will have to be determined by Congress, as: the creating of the Supreme Court; the relation of the two houses of Congress to each other and of both to the Executive; the powers of Congress, of the Executive, and of the Judiciary; the lengths of the terms of office, the manner of electing the President, and so on. I trust this may all be considered with a unity of thought and of spirit, and through the days yet to

R576 copy 1

come we shall work together for the common good of all. A motion for adjournment is in order.

ELBRIDGE GERRY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. GERRY. I move that we adjourn.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor manifest it by saying *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

ACT II

TIME: — September 17, 1787
PLACE: — Independence Hall, Philadelphia

CHARACTERS

GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT	EDMUND RANDOLPH
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN	ROGER SHERMAN
ALEXANDER HAMILTON	WILLIAM JACKSON, SECRETARY

As many other students should represent delegates as the numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite speaking part in this act. Mr. Gerry and Mr. Mason should be present. All delegates, with the exception of Mr. Mason, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Gerry, sign the Constitution.

Washington occupies the chair as in Act I. William Jackson is again Secretary.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The meeting will please come to order. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the roll as in Act I. Each delegate responds to his name by "here" or "present." In order to indicate the presence of all the delegates who are listed at the beginning of the dramatization, it will be necessary for some students to respond to more than one name.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). Gentlemen, we have worked here for four long months. We have made a Consti-

tution which, we believe, is the best instrument we can bring forth, and Gouverneur Morris has drafted it for us in his able way.

We have established three departments of government instead of one, namely: a Legislative to make the laws, an Executive to enforce the laws, and a Judiciary to interpret the laws. Powers needed for a real government have been given Congress: to raise money by taxation; to make commercial regulations and lay import duties.

Certain powers have been taken from the state, namely: to coin money; to make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debt; to lay import duties; to pass laws violating contracts — these powers no longer are to be exercised by the states.

The most important change is the supremacy of the laws of the Union over those of the state.

It is my great pleasure and privilege now to ask you to sign this document, and after this is done it will be sent directly to Congress, from whence it will go to the State legislatures. When nine states have ratified it, it will have become the Constitution of the United States of America and will go into effect as such.

Will the delegates please step forward and sign the document?

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Franklin.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Though there are some parts of the Constitution of which I do not approve, I am

astonished to find it so nearly perfect. Whatever opinion I have of its errors I shall sacrifice to the public good, and I hope that every member of the Convention who still has objections will on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and for the sake of unanimity put his name to this instrument.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON (*seated*). A few members, by refusing to sign, might do infinite mischief.

One by one the members pass to the front and sign the instrument. Mr. Mason, Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Gerry refuse to sign.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Randolph.

EDMUND RANDOLPH. I cannot yet make up my mind whether to oppose or defend the Constitution when it shall be laid before the people of Virginia. I wish to reserve to myself full liberty of action in this matter.

After the signing, all is very quiet. Washington sits with bowed head in solemn meditation.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (*rises and points to back of the President's chair on which is emblazoned a half sun*). I have often and often in the course of the session looked at that picture behind the President without being able to tell whether the sun was rising or setting; but now, at length I have the happiness to know that it is a rising and not a setting sun.

(*All members are very solemn.*)

GEORGE WASHINGTON (*rising slowly to his feet*). Gentlemen, we have finished the task set before us. As we go to our respective homes, let our hearts be

Photograph by Philip B. Wallace, Philadelphia

SIGNING OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

light, for although in many cases we have undoubtedly done many things we should not have done and left undone many things we should have done, yet we all have the consolation of knowing we did the best we could and in our hearts we have thought only of the welfare of all. May God bless you!

ROGER SHERMAN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Connecticut.

ROGER SHERMAN. Mr. President, I move we adjourn.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved and seconded that we adjourn. All those in favor, say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

We are adjourned.

Before passing out, all the colonists step to the front and shake hands with Washington.

POSTERS

THOU, too, sail on, O Ship of State.

LONGFELLOW

WE have given to the people of the United States an ironclad Constitution.

MADISON

THE people have decided that this Constitution shall be the supreme law.

WEBSTER

THE Constitution creates an indissoluble union of imperishable States.

BANCROFT

Now the thirteen clocks strike as one.

ADAMS

THE Constitution in all its provisions looks to an indestructible Union composed of indestructible States.

CHASE

THE most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of men.

GLADSTONE

LETTER

LETTER signed by George Washington which accompanied the draft of the Constitution when it was sent to the Congress of the Confederation then in session in New York.

> IT is obviously impracticable, in the Federal Government of these United States, to secure all rights of independent sovereignty to each, and yet provide for the interest and safety of all. Individuals entering into society must give up a share of liberty to preserve the rest. . . . In all our deliberations on this subject we kept steadily in our view that which appeared to us the greatest interest of every true American, — the consolidation of the Union, — in which is involved our prosperity, felicity, safety, perhaps our national existence.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION CABINET MEETINGS

ACT I

TIME: — July 22, 1862

PLACE: — White House, Washington, D. C.

CHARACTERS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE
CALEB B. SMITH, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
GIDEON WELLES, SECRETARY OF THE NAVY
SAMUEL P. CHASE, SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR
MONTGOMERY BLAIR, POSTMASTER-GENERAL
EDWARD BATES, ATTORNEY-GENERAL

The President and his Cabinet are arranged around the reference reading-table in positions similar to those shown in the picture. All members of the Cabinet are present with the exception of Mr. Blair, who enters later.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (*rising*). Gentlemen, I do not mean to leave anyone in doubt as to the policy I seem to be pursuing.

I would save the Union. I would save it the shortest way under the Constitution. The sooner the national authority can be restored, the nearer the Union will be "the Union as it was." If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the

same time save slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time destroy slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it; if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I do about slavery and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause; and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views as fast as they shall appear to be true views.

I have here stated my purpose according to my view of official duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed personal wish that all men everywhere could be free. (*Mr. Blair enters.*)

Gentlemen, I am about to do the most momentous thing that has ever been done upon this continent since thirteen British colonies became a nation.[1] I have called you together to-day to lay the subject-matter of a proclamation before you. I do not desire that you offer any advice, for I am determined to take this step. However, I should be glad to have

[1] Morse, John T., Jr.: *Abraham Lincoln*. Houghton Mifflin Company.

you make suggestions as to details after you have heard the proclamation read. In substance, it is this:—

> On January first, one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free.

(*Cabinet members look at one another in great surprise.*)

Mr. Blair (*seated*).[1] Mr. President, I deprecate the policy on the ground that it will cost the Administration the fall election.

President (*seated*). This possibility has entered my mind; I have thought it all out and anticipated the results.

Mr. Seward (*rising*). Mr. President, I approve of the proclamation, but I question the expediency of its issue at this juncture. In the depression of the public mind, consequent upon our repeated reverses, I fear that so important a step may be viewed as the last measure of an exhausted government, a cry for help: the government stretching forth its hands to Ethiopia, instead of Ethiopia stretching forth her hands to the government. I fear that it will be considered our last shriek, on the retreat. Now, while I approve the measure, I suggest, sir, that you postpone its issue, until you can give it to the country supported by military success, instead of issuing it,

[1] Carpenter, Francis Bicknell: *Six Months in the White House with Abraham Lincoln.* Houghton Mifflin Company.

as would be the case now, upon the great disasters of the war. (*Mr. Seward sits.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). That is an excellent suggestion. In fact I have had this same notion in mind, so I will put the draft of the proclamation aside, and wait for a victory. Let me add that I wish that all that has taken place at this meeting to-day be kept a secret for the present. You are dismissed.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION CABINET MEETINGS

ACT II

TIME: — September 20, 1862

PLACE: — White House, Washington, D. C.

CHARACTERS: — Same as in Act I

The seating arrangement is the same as in Act I. All members are present, but the President does not enter the room until the others are in their places. All rise when he enters and remain standing until he is seated.

THE PRESIDENT (*rising*).[1] Gentlemen, I have, as you are aware, thought a great deal about the relation of this war to slavery, and you all remember that, several weeks ago, I read to you an order I had prepared upon the subject, which, on account of objections made by some of you, was not issued. Ever since then my mind has been occupied with this subject, and I have thought all along that the time for acting on it might probably come. I think the time has now come.

I wish it were a better time. I wish that we were in a better condition. The action of the army against the rebels has not been quite what I should have

[1] SCHUCKERS, J. W.: *Life and Public Services of Salmon P. Chase.* D. Appleton & Company.

best liked. But they have been driven out of Maryland, and Pennsylvania is no longer in danger of invasion. When the rebel army was at Frederick I determined, as soon as it should be driven out of Maryland, to issue a proclamation of emancipation, such as I thought most likely to be useful. I said nothing to any one, but I made a promise to myself and (*hesitating a little*) to my Maker. The rebel army is now driven out, and I am going to fulfill that promise.

I have got you together to hear what I have written down. I do not wish your advice about the main matter, for that I have determined for myself. This I say without intending anything but respect for any one of you. But I already know the views of each on this question. They have been heretofore expressed, and I have considered them as thoroughly and carefully as I can. What I have written is that which my reflections have determined me to say. If there is anything in the expressions I use or in any minor matter which any of you thinks had best be changed, I shall be glad to receive your suggestions.

One other observation I will make. I know very well that many others might, in this matter as in others, do better than I can; and if I were satisfied that the public confidence was more fully possessed by any one of them than by me, and knew of any constitutional way in which he could be put in my place, he should have it. I would gladly yield it to him. But though I believe that I have not so much of the confidence of the people as I had some time

Photograph by F. B. Carpenter — Soule Art Publishing Company

THE READING OF THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

Stanton, Chase, President Lincoln, Welles, Smith, Blair, Bates, Seward (seated, front)

since, I do not know that, all things considered, any other person has more; and, however this may be, there is no way in which I can have any other man put where I am. I am here. I must do the best I can, and bear the responsibility of taking the course which I feel I ought to take.

Since I read you the order which I prepared for our last meeting, I have added or changed a line, touching it up here and there, anxiously watching the progress of events. I shall now proceed to read it to you: —

THAT, on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States, will, during the continuance in office of the present incumbent, recognize the freedom of such persons, as being free, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that

such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Mr. Seward (*seated*).[1] Mr. President, the general question having been decided, nothing can be said further about that. Would it not, however, make the proclamation more clear and decided to leave out all reference to the act being sustained during the incumbency of the present President; and not merely say that the Government "recognizes" but that it will "maintain" the freedom it proclaims?

The President (*seated*).[2] I have already fully considered the import of that expression in this connection, but I had not introduced it, because it is not my way to promise what I am not entirely sure I can perform, and I am not prepared to say that I think we are exactly able to "maintain" this.

Mr. Chase (*rising*).[1] What you have said, Mr. President, fully satisfies me that you have given to every proposition which has been made a kind and candid consideration. And you have now expressed the conclusion at which you have arrived clearly and distinctly. This it was your right, and, under your oath of office, your duty to do. The proclamation does not, indeed, mark out the course I would myself prefer; but I am ready to take it just as it is written and to stand by it with all my heart. I think, however, the suggestions of Mr. Seward very judicious, and shall be glad to have them adopted.

(*Mr. Chase sits.*)

[1] Schuckers: *Ibid.*

[2] Carpenter: *Ibid.*

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). I really do not care a great deal about the phrases I have used. However, if you desire this change in the phraseology of the document, I shall be glad to make the modification. Mr. Stanton, what is your opinion?

MR. STANTON (*seated*). I am in favor of the change.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). Mr. Welles?

MR. WELLES (*seated*). I should like to see this modification made.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). Mr. Smith?

MR. SMITH (*seated*). I think the suggestion a very excellent one.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). Mr. Blair?

MR. BLAIR (*seated*). I believe the modification strengthens the document decidedly.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). Mr. Bates?

MR. BATES (*seated*). I favor this change also.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). I shall be glad to change this detail according to your suggestion.

MR. BLAIR (*seated*).[1] Mr. President, the question having been decided, I shall make no objection to issuing the proclamation; but I shall ask to have my paper, presented some days since, against the policy, filed with the proclamation.

THE PRESIDENT (*seated*). I consent to this readily.

MR. BLAIR (*seated*).[1] I am afraid of the influence of the proclamation on the border States and on the army. However, I am not against emancipation *per se*. On the contrary, I have always been personally in favor of it — always ready for immediate eman-

[1] SCHUCKERS: *Ibid.*

cipation in the midst of slave States, rather than submit to the perpetuation of the system.

PRESIDENT (*rises and looks at clock*). It is too late to issue the proclamation to-day, so I shall fix it up a little to-morrow and on Monday, the twenty-second of September, 1862, Mr. Blair will see that the document is published. The people will then have three months in which to consider it.

On January 1, 1863, we shall assemble here again, directly after the public reception. I shall sign the proclamation and it will go into effect immediately. You are dismissed.

All pass out, the members of the Cabinet stepping to one side to allow the President to go first.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION
CABINET MEETINGS

ACT III

TIME: — January 1, 1863

PLACE: — White House, Washington, D. C.

CHARACTERS: — Same as in Acts I and II

The Cabinet members are again gathered around the table, on which should be an ink-bottle and pen ready for the President's use. All members are present. The President enters after the others are in their chairs. All rise until he is seated.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The first day of January having arrived, the promised proclamation goes into effect. I shall now read it to you.

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-two, a proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing, among other things, the following, to wit: —

That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free; and the executive government of the United States,

including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom.

That the Executive will on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion against the United States; and the fact that any State or the people thereof shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States, by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such States shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and Government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaimed for the full period of one hundred days from the day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof, respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:—

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac,

Northhampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States, are and henceforward shall be, free, and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense; and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By the President:

WILLIAM H. SEWARD

Secretary of State

PRESIDENT (*picks up the pen and turns toward Mr. Seward*).[1] My much-shaking hand is almost paralyzed. People, who in time to come shall see this signature will be likely to say "He hesitated," whereas, on the contrary my whole soul is in it.

Hands pen to Mr. Seward who signs the document also. After the signing, all shake hands with Mr. Lincoln.

POSTERS

No nation can exist half free and half slave.

LINCOLN

UNION is the source of all greatness.

LINCOLN

OUR Federal Union! It must be preserved.

ANDREW JACKSON

LIBERTY and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable.

DANIEL WEBSTER

MY paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union.

LINCOLN

HIS chief object, the ideal to which his whole soul was devoted, was the preservation of the Union.

ALEXANDER STEPHENS

LET us have faith that right makes might and in that faith let us, to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it.

LINCOLN

[1] MORSE: *Ibid.*

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS

TIME: — April 11–25, 1898. The Fifty-fifth Congress
PLACE: — Senate Chamber, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

GARRET A. HOBART, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

SENATORS

JOHN T. MORGAN, EDMUND W. PETTERS
ALABAMA

JOHN K. JONES, JAMES H. BERRY
ARKANSAS

GEORGE C. PERKINS, STEPHEN M. WHITE
CALIFORNIA

HENRY M. TELLER, EDWARD O. WOLCOTT
COLORADO

JOSEPH HAWLEY, ORVILLE PRATT
CONNECTICUT

GEORGE GRAY, RICHARD KENNEY
DELAWARE

STEPHEN MALLORY, SAMUEL PASCO
FLORIDA

AUGUSTUS O. BACON, ALEXANDER S. CLAY
GEORGIA

HENRY HEITFELD, GEORGE L. SHOOP
IDAHO

WILLIAM MASON, SHELBY CULLOM
ILLINOIS

DAVID TURPIE, CHARLES W. FAIRBANKS
INDIANA

JOHN H. GEAR, WILLIAM B. ALLISON
IOWA

WILLIAM A. HARRIS, LUCIEN BAKER
KANSAS

WILLIAM DEBOE, WILLIAM LINDSAY
KENTUCKY

SAMUEL McENERY, DONELSON CAFFIRY
LOUISIANA

EUGENE HALE, WILLIAM FRYE
MAINE

ARTHUR GORMAN, GEORGE L. WELLINGTON
MARYLAND

HENRY CABOT LODGE, GEORGE F. HOAR
MASSACHUSETTS

JAMES McMILLAN, JULIUS C. BURROWS
MICHIGAN

CUSHMAN DAVIS, KNUTE NELSON
MINNESOTA

HERNANDO MONEY, EDWARD C. WALTHALL
MISSISSIPPI

GEORGE G. VEST, FRANCIS COCKRELL
MISSOURI

THOMAS H. CARTER, LEE MANTLE
MONTANA

WILLIAM E. CHANDLER, JACOB H. GALLINGER
NEW HAMPSHIRE

MARION BUTLER, PETER C. PRITCHARD
NORTH CAROLINA

HENRY C. HANSBROUGH, WILLIAM N. ROACH
NORTH DAKOTA

WILLIAM V. ALLEN, JOHN M. THURSTON
NEBRASKA

WILLIAM M. STEWART, JOHN P. JONES
NEVADA

WILLIAM SEWELL, JAMES SMITH
NEW JERSEY
EDWARD MURPHY, JR., THOMAS C. PLATT
NEW YORK
JOSEPH FORAKER, MARCUS A. HANNA
OHIO
GEORGE McBRICE
OREGON
MATTHEW QUAY, BOIES PENROSE
PENNSYLVANIA
NELSON ALDRICH, GEORGE W. WETMORE
RHODE ISLAND
JOHN C. McLAURIN, BENJAMIN TILLMAN
SOUTH CAROLINA
JAMES H. KYLE, RICHARD PETTIGREW
SOUTH DAKOTA
WILLIAM B. BATE, THOMAS B. TURLEY
TENNESSEE
FRANK B. CANNON, JOSEPH L. RAWLINS
UTAH
REDFIELD PROCTOR, JUSTIN MORRILL
VERMONT
THOMAS MARTIN, JOHN W. DANIEL
VIRGINIA
HORACE CHILTON, ROGER MILLS
TEXAS
GEORGE TURNER, JOHN L. WILSON
WASHINGTON
STEPHEN B. ELKINS, CHARLES J. FAULKNER
WEST VIRGINIA
JOHN L. MITCHELL, JOHN C. SPOONER
WISCONSIN
FRANCIS E. WARREN, CLARENCE CLARK
WYOMING

SECRETARY, WILLIAM B. COX
CHAPLAIN, REV. W. H MILBURN, D.D.
CLERK OF SENATE
CLERK OF HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, W. J. BROWNING
SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
O. L. PRUDEN

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS

ACT I

TIME: — April 11, 1898

PLACE: — Senate Chamber, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

GARRET A. HOBART, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
REV. W. H. MILBURN
MATTHEW QUAY
CUSHMAN DAVIS
WILLIAM B. ALLISON
WILLIAM B. COX, SECRETARY
O. L. PRUDEN, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
CLERK

As many more students should be assigned the names of the other members as the numbers in the class will permit. All students respond to roll call, but those mentioned above have also a definite part in this act.

Garret A. Hobart, as presiding officer, is seated before the Senators, who are arranged in a semicircle facing him. At the desk are seated the Secretary and the Clerk. Senator Davis is just outside the door.

PRESIDENT (*rapping on the desk with his gavel*). The Senate will please come to order. The Reverend W. H. Milburn will offer prayer.

REV. W. H. MILBURN (*very reverently*).

O Lord our God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies, and the Giver of all comfort! We thank Thee that Thou hast thus gathered us together again, and that it is our privilege, amid the brightness and

beauty of our national festival, and in this our national Capitol, to come to the throne of Thy grace, seeking Thy blessing, the protection of Thy providence, the guidance of Thy spirit in behalf of this our national Congress, and all the interests which are committed to its care.

O Lord our God, if there must be war, if Thou dost indeed ordain war and sanction war, may it not be a bloody and ruinous war. May it rather be an armed, mighty, irresistible migration — a migration of true love; a migration of those who truly love liberty and civilization; a migration of those who shall protect and encourage and uphold our true and loyal men, retaking, repossessing, and improving all that belongs to our Government, and so preparing us again to exhibit an example to the world that shall be an advantage to all who uphold it.

Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, forever and ever. Amen.

PRESIDENT. The clerk will call the roll.

The roll call and response are conducted as follows:

CLERK. Allen.

SENATOR ALLEN. Present.

CLERK. Allison.

SENATOR ALLISON. Present.

See beginning of dramatization for other names.

A response of "present" should be heard after the calling of each name with the exception of those of Senators Bacon, Baker, Clark, Chilton,

Daniel, Deboe, Davis, Frye, Gallinger, Gorman, Hoar, Kyle, Mitchell, Mills, Mason, McLaurin, Nelson, Pettigrew, Petters, Perkins, Pritchard, Smith, Spooner, Turpie, Walthall, Wetmore, and White, who either are absent or enter after roll call. The names of some of the absent members might be read for the sake of making the situation more in keeping with actual conditions. Of course, no responses would be heard here. Only as many names should be called as numbers in the class will permit.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Secretary will read the journal of the proceedings of Thursday.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

The Senate Chamber, April tenth, in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight.

The Vice-President laid before the Senate a communication from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a letter from the Secretary submitting an estimate of appropriation for improvement of Muskingum River, Ohio, $6000; which, with the accompanying papers, was referred to the Committee on Appropriations, and ordered to be printed.

Mr. Pettigrew presented a paper, being an answer to the usual questions asked by those who advocate the single gold standard, and moved that it be printed as a document. The motion was agreed to.

Mr. Quay introduced a bill (S, 4363) for the relief of John and Sarah Griffin; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Claims.

(*Senator Davis enters.*)

MATTHEW QUAY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Quay.

MR. QUAY. I move that further reading of the journal be dispensed with.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is before the Senate that further reading of the journal be dispensed with. Those in favor say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed say *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is carried.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). I wish to present a petition of the Board of Trade of Jersey City, N. J., approving the action of the President in the present crisis between the United States and Spain, and praying Congress to give him every support. It is referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

MR. QUAY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

MR. QUAY. I wish to present resolutions adopted by the Oxford Club of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, favoring the employment of the land and naval forces of the United States in the immediate promotion of measures to force the Spanish flag from this continent and secure the independence of Cuba.

(*Hands copy of resolution to President.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). I refer the resolution to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

MR. QUAY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Quay.

MR. QUAY. In accordance with the wish of the Trades League of Philadelphia, a body composed of two thousand business firms, and of highly respectable gentlemen, I desire to read a telegram received from

them, it being in the nature of a petition. I will ask the Secretary to read the telegram, if there is no objection.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). In the absence of objection, the Secretary will read the telegram.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

PHILADELPHIA, *April 5*, 1898

HON. M. D. QUAY, WASHINGTON

The Trades League of Philadelphia in special session to-day passed the following resolution unanimously: —

WHEREAS the Trades League of Philadelphia, an organization of nearly 2000 business firms, appreciating the wise, conservative, and dignified policy of the President of the United States in his treatment of the very grave and momentous differences now existing between the Kingdom of Spain and the United States of America, and recognizing the fact that this policy, if persisted in by the President and aided by Congressional support, will in the end tend to maintain peace upon an honorable basis between the two nations and result in an equitable adjustment of the Cuban troubles: Therefore,

Be it resolved, That the board of managers of the Trades League of Philadelphia commends the action of Congress in supporting the President in his endeavor to prevent war, pending an adjustment by peaceable methods.

Resolved, That we appeal to our representatives in Congress to continue to coöperate with the President and to accord him a full opportunity to exhaust all peaceful negotiations. Then, in the event of a failure of these measures, if war should follow, our

country will have exhausted every reasonable means to maintain "peace with honor."

Will you or Senator Penrose please read in the Senate?

W. W. Foulkrod, President

Mr. Quay. Mr. President.

President. The gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. Quay. I desire to say to these gentlemen that I have little hesitancy in acceding to their very reasonable suggestion. I have an affectionate personal regard for the President and absolute confidence in his patriotic statesmanship. I have confidence that he will always be in accord with the best thought and interest of his country.

The people of the United States, in my judgment, are pretty nearly unanimous that the time for negotiation upon the Cuban question is past — the present is a case for neither Pope, prelate, nor presbyter. They believe that further negotiations mean further time for the concentration of the Spanish naval forces and for general Spanish preparations for war. They know that a Spanish torpedo flotilla is en route for our shores, whose mission is hostile, whose only interest can be to destroy our vessels as the Maine was destroyed and slay our sailors as the sailors of the Maine were slain. They know that yesterday two Spanish war vessels sailed westward and will be with us in ten days.

They believe that bloodshed will be averted or diminished by prompt action of the Government — not by declaring war, but by making war in self-defense before Spain secures further naval or mili-

tary advantage; they believe, perhaps without reason, that delay is largely sought or urged by those interested in the Spanish success, or by those who would market the national honor and make merchandise of the blood and bones of the dead of the Maine; that intervention should be armed, immediate, and impetuous; that not merely a stable but a republican form of government should be given the Cubans; they should stand not upon the order of their going, but go at once!

For these purposes they believe the Army and Navy of the United States should be utilized until Cuba is free and the Maine is avenged. Believing that the President is with the ultimate purpose of the people, I have pleasure in assuring the Trades League of Philadelphia that I will comply with their request.

I move that the telegram be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is made that the telegram be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Those opposed say *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is passed.

Mr. O. L. Pruden, Secretary of the President of the United States, enters.

MR. PRUDEN. Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver to the Senate a message in writing.

He hands it to the Secretary and leaves the room.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Chair lays before the

Senate a message from the President of the United States, which the Secretary will read.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

OBEDIENT to the precept of the Constitution which commands the President to give from time to time to the Congress information of the state of the Union and to recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient, it becomes my duty to now address your body with regard to the grave crisis that has arisen in the relation of the United States to Spain, by reason of the warfare that for more than three years has raged in the neighboring island of Cuba.

I do so because of the intimate connection of the Cuban question with the state of our own Union and the grave relation the course which it is now incumbent upon the nation to adopt, must needs bear to the traditional policy of our Government, if it is to accord with the precepts laid down by the founders of the Republic and religiously observed by succeeding Administrations to the present day.

The present revolution is but the successor of other similar insurrections which have occurred in Cuba against the dominion of Spain, extending over a period of nearly half a century, each of which, during its progress, has subjected the United States to great effort and expense in enforcing its neutrality laws, caused enormous losses to American trade and commerce, caused irritation, annoyance, and disturbance among our citizens, and, by the exercise of cruel, barbarous, and uncivilized practices of warfare, shocked the sensibilities and offended the humane sympathies of our people.

Our trade has suffered; the capital invested by our citizens in Cuba has been largely lost, and the temper and

forbearance of our people have been so sorely tried as to beget a perilous unrest among our own citizens, which has inevitably found its expression from time to time in the National Legislature, so that issues wholly external to our own body politic engross attention and stand in the way of that close devotion to domestic advancement that becomes a self-contained commonwealth whose primal maxim has been the avoidance of all foreign entanglements. All this must needs awaken, and has indeed aroused, the utmost concern on the part of this Government, as well during my predecessor's term as my own. . . .

In my annual message of December last I said: —

Of the untried measures there remain only: Recognition of the insurgents as belligerents; recognition of the independence of Cuba; neutral intervention to end the war by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants; and intervention in favor of one or the other party. I speak not of forcible annexation, for that cannot be thought of. That, by our code of morality, would be criminal aggression.

From the standpoint of expediency, I do not think it would be wise or prudent for this Government to recognize at the present time the independence of the so-called Cuban Republic. Such recognition is not necessary in order to enable the United States to intervene and pacify the island. To commit this country now to the recognition of any particular government in Cuba might subject us to embarrassing conditions of international obligation toward the organization so recognized. In case of intervention our conduct would be subject to the approval or disapproval of such government. We would be required to submit to its direction and to assume the mere relation of an ally.

When it shall appear hereafter that there is within the

island a government capable of performing the duties and discharging the functions of a separate nation, and having, as a matter of fact, the proper forms and attributes of nationality, such government can be promptly and readily recognized and the relations and interests of the United States with such nation adjusted.

There remain the alternative forms of intervention to end the war, either as an impartial neutral, by imposing a rational compromise between the contestants, or as the active ally of the one party or the other.

. . . The forcible intervention of the United States as a neutral to stop the war, according to the large dictates of humanity and following many historical precedents where neighboring states have interfered to check the hopeless sacrifices of life by deadly conflicts beyond their borders, is justifiable on rational grounds.

The long trial has proved that the object for which Spain has waged the war cannot be attained. The fire of insurrection may flame or may smolder with varying seasons, but it has not been, and it is plain that it cannot be, extinguished by present methods. The only hope of relief and repose from a condition which can no longer be endured is the enforced pacification of Cuba. In the name of humanity, the name of civilization, in behalf of endangered American interests which give us the right and the duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must be stopped.

(*Applause.*)

In view of these facts and of these considerations, I ask the Congress to authorize and empower the President to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the Government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations, ensuring peace

and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own, and to use the military and naval forces of the United States as may be necessary for these purposes.

And in the interest of humanity and to aid in preserving the lives of the starving people of the island, I recommend that the distribution of food and supplies be continued, and that an appropriation be made out of the public treasury to supplement the charity of our citizens.

The issue is now with the Congress. It is a solemn responsibility. I have exhausted every effort to relieve the intolerable condition of affairs which is at our doors. Prepared to execute every obligation imposed upon me by the Constitution and the law, I await your action.

Yesterday, and since the preparation of the foregoing message, official information was received by me that the latest decree of the Queen Regent of Spain directs General Blanco, in order to prepare and facilitate peace, to proclaim a suspension of hostilities, the duration and details of which have not yet been communicated to me.

This fact, with every other pertinent consideration, will, I am sure, have your just and careful attention in the solemn deliberations upon which you are about to enter. If this measure attains a successful result, then our aspirations as a Christian, peace-loving people will be realized. If it fails, it will be only another justification for our contemplated action.

WILLIAM McKINLEY

CUSHMAN DAVIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

MR. DAVIS. I move the message of the President, with the accompanying documents, be printed and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The question is on the motion

of the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Davis), that the message of the President, with the accompanying documents, be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations and printed. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Many "ayes."*) Those opposed say *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is carried.

WILLIAM B. ALLISON. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Iowa.

MR. ALLISON. I move that the Senate adjourn.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is before the Senate that we adjourn. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The Senate stands adjourned.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS

ACT II

TIME: — April 13, 1898

PLACE: — Senate Chamber, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

GARRET A. HOBART, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

REV. W. H. MILBURN	EDWARD WOLCOTT
CUSHMAN DAVIS	GEORGE F. HOAR
JOSEPH FORAKER	FRANCIS COCKRELL
DAVID TURPIE	JACOB GALLINGER

WILLIAM B. COX, SECRETARY

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

The President calls the meeting to order by rapping on the desk with his gavel.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Reverend W. H. Milburn will offer prayer.

REV. W. H. MILBURN (*very reverently*). Almighty God, the Father of our spirits, the Author of every good and perfect gift, with Thee we have to do, for Thou art the Judge of men, and our lives and destinies are in thy hands. We recognize Thee, we acknowledge Thee to be the Lord. We pray that according to the precious promise of thy word Thou wilt direct our steps. For Christ's sake, Amen.

CUSHMAN DAVIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

MR. DAVIS. I am directed by the Committee of Foreign Relations to report a joint resolution and submit an accompaning report thereon. I ask that the joint resolution and report be read.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the Secretary read the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

WHEREAS, The abhorrent conditions which have existed for more than three years in the island of Cuba, so near our border, have shocked the moral sense of the people of the United States of America, have been a disgrace to Christian civilization, — culminating, as they have, in the destruction of a United States battleship, with two hundred and sixty-six of its officers and crew, on a friendly visit in the harbor of Havana, — and cannot longer be endured, as has been set forth by the President of the United States in his message to Congress of April 11, 1898, upon which the action of Congress was invited: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

First. That the people of the Island of Cuba are, and of right ought to be, free and independent.

Second. That it is the duty of the United States to demand, and the Government of the United States does hereby demand, that the Government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters.

Third. That the President of the United States be, and hereby is, directed and empowered to use the

entire land and naval forces of the United States, and call into actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such extent as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

JOSEPH FORAKER. Mr. President.

(*Mr. Foraker remains standing.*)

DAVID TURPIE (*rising*). Will the Senator from Ohio yield to me for a moment?

(*Mr. Turpie remains standing.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Does the Senator from Ohio yield to the Senator from Indiana?

MR. FORAKER. I yield. (*Mr. Foraker sits.*)

MR. TURPIE. I am much obliged for the courtesy of the honorable Senator from Ohio.

EDWARD WOLCOTT. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Colorado.

EDWARD WOLCOTT. Will the Senator from Indiana permit the resolution reported by the Committee to be again read?

MR. TURPIE. Allow me to say, Mr. President, that I am much obliged for the courtesy of the honorable Senator from Ohio.

GEORGE F. HOAR. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. HOAR. I rise to a question of order. I ask what is the pending question before the Senate? If there be a pending question or resolution, I should like to have it reported.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Does the Senator from Indiana yield so that the joint resolution reported by the Committee may be again read to the Senate?

MR. TURPIE. The honorable Senator from Ohio (Mr. Foraker) has the floor and I am only speaking by his courtesy. (*Mr. Turpie sits.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). If there be no objection, the Secretary will read the joint resolution before the Senate.

(*The Secretary again reads resolution.*)

MR. HOAR. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. HOAR. I rise to a question of order.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Senator from Massachusetts will state his point of order.

MR. HOAR. I demand that the resolution lie over one day for consideration under the rules.

FRANCIS COCKRELL. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri.

MR. COCKRELL. I understand that there is a minority report of the Committee on Foreign Relations. I hope the Senator will allow it to be made, so as to get it before the Senate.

MR. HOAR. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

MR. HOAR. I do not object to that, but I wish to raise my point.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Chair will consider the point of order after the report of the minority of the committee shall have been made.

MR. TURPIE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana.

MR. TURPIE. I submit the report of the minority of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and in

behalf of the minority of the Committee, I also offer an amendment to the first section of the original resolution and ask that the report and the amendment — they are both brief — may be read.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Secretary will read the report and the amendment.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

VIEWS OF MINORITY

The undersigned members of said committee cordially concur in the report made upon the Cuban resolutions, but we favor the immediate recognition of the Republic of Cuba, as organized in that island, as a free, independent, and sovereign power among the nations of the world.

DAVID TURPIE
R. F. MILLS
JOHN W. DANIEL
J. B. FORAKER

The amendment reported by the minority of the committee was to amend the first paragraph by inserting in line four, after the word "independent," the following: —

And that the Government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that island.

DAVID TURPIE. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Indiana.

MR. TURPIE. I ask that the minority report, together with the proposed amendment, be printed.

MR. COCKRELL. They will all be printed, as a matter of course.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). There being no objection, the

order to print will be made as to all the papers submitted by the Committee.

JACOB GALLINGER. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New Hampshire.

MR. GALLINGER. I move that the Senate adjourn.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion has been made that the Senate adjourn. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

We stand adjourned.

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE CONGRESS

ACT III

TIME: — April 25, 1898. The Fifty-fifth Congress
PLACE :— Senate Chamber, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

GARRET A. HOBART, PRESIDING
REV. W. H. MILBURN
CUSHMAN DAVIS
FRANCIS COCKRELL
THOMAS C. PLATT
GEORGE GRAY
WILLIAM HARRIS
HENRY HEITFELD
HERNANDO MONEY
THOMAS CARTER
WILLIAM E. CHANDLER
WILLIAM P. COX, SECRETARY
O. L. PRUDEN, SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
W. J. BROWNING, CHIEF CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. All present respond to the roll call, but those mentioned above have a definite part in this act besides.

The President knocks on his desk with his gavel.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Reverend W. H. Milburn will offer prayer.

REV. W. H. MILBURN (*very reverently*). O Thou who hast been our refuge and our strength, a very present help in trouble from the beginning of our national life unto the present hour, be Thou our

support and guide in the impending crisis. Be with our President and all his counselors; the Congress, and all of our officials connected with the affairs of state, that they may be guided by thy will.

Hear us, in the name of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Savior. Amen.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Secretary will read the journal of the proceedings of yesterday.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

The Senate Chamber, April twenty-first, In the year of our Lord eighteen hundred ninety-eight.

By order of the Senate the usual business was suspended to enable the Senate to participate in the funeral ceremonies deemed appropriate upon the death of Edward C. Whitehall, late an honored member of this body from the state of Mississippi.

Mr. O. L. Pruden, Secretary to the President of the United States enters.

MR. PRUDEN. Mr. President, I am directed by the President of the United States to deliver to the Senate a message in writing.

He hands the message to the Secretary, and leaves the room.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President of the United States, which the Secretary will read.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America: —

I TRANSMIT to the Congress, for its consideration and appropriate action, copies of correspondence recently had

with the representative of Spain in the United States, with the United States minister at Madrid, and through the latter with the Government of Spain, showing the action taken under the joint resolution approved April 20, 1898, "for the recognition of the independence of the people of Cuba, demanding that the Government of Spain relinquish its authority and government in the Island of Cuba and withdraw its land and naval forces from Cuba and Cuban waters, and directing the President of the United States to use the land and naval forces of the United States to carry these resolutions into effect."

Upon communicating to the Spanish minister in Washington the demand which it became the duty of the Executive to address to the Government of Spain in obedience to said resolution, the minister asked for his passports and withdrew. The United States minister at Madrid was in turn notified by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs that the withdrawal of the Spanish representative from the United States had terminated diplomatic relations between the two countries, and that all official communications between their representatives ceased therewith.

I commend to your especial attention the note addressed to the United States minister at Madrid by the Spanish minister for foreign affairs on the 21st instant, whereby the foregoing notification was conveyed. It will be perceived therefrom that the Government of Spain, being conscious of the joint resolution of the United States Congress, and in view of the things which the President is thereby required and authorized to do, responds by treating the reasonable demands of this Government as measures of hostility, following with that instant and complete severance of relations by its action, which by the usage of nations accompanies an existent state of war between sovereign powers.

The position of Spain being thus made known and the demands of the United States being denied with a complete rupture of intercourse by the act of Spain, I have been constrained, in exercise of the power and authority conferred upon me by the joint resolution aforesaid, to proclaim under date of April 22, 1898, a blockade of certain ports of the north coast of Cuba, lying between Cardenas and Bahia Honda, and of the port of Cienfuegos, on the south coast of Cuba; and further, in exercise of my constitutional powers and using the authority conferred upon me by the act of Congress approved April 20, 1898, to issue my proclamation dated April 23, 1898, calling forth volunteers in order to carry into effect the said resolution of April 20, 1898.

In view of the measures so taken, and with a view to the adoption of such other measures as may be necessary to enable me to carry out the expressed will of the Congress of the United States in the premises, I now recommend to your honorable body the adoption of a joint resolution declaring that a state of war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain, and I urge speedy action thereon to the end that the definition of the international status of the United States as a belligerent power may be made known, and the assertion of all its rights and the maintenance of all its duties in the conduct of a public war may be assured.

WILLIAM McKINLEY

WASHINGTON, *April 25*, 1898

MR. DAVIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The gentleman from Minnesota.

MR. DAVIS. I move that the message be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PRESIDENT. Without objection, that will be the order.

MR. COCKRELL. And printed.

MR. DAVIS. And printed.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The message and accompanying papers will be printed.

W. J. Browning, Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, enters.

CLERK. Mr. President, I am requested to announce that the House has passed a bill (H. R. 10,085) declaring that war exists between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate.

He hands document to Secretary and leaves the room.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Chair lays before the Senate a bill from the House of Representatives. Will the Secretary read the bill.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

First. That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A.D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain.

Second. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states, to such extent as may be necessary to carry this act into effect.

MR. DAVIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Minnesota.

MR. DAVIS. I move that the doors of the Senate be closed.

MR. PLATT. I second the motion.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The motion is seconded, and the Senate will proceed in session with closed doors.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the Secretary read the bill.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled: —

First. That war be, and the same is hereby, declared to exist, and that war has existed since the 21st day of April, A.D. 1898, including said day, between the United States of America and the Kingdom of Spain.

Second. That the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, directed and empowered to use the entire land and naval forces of the United States, and to call into the actual service of the United States the militia of the several states to such extent as may be necessary to carry this act into effect.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The question is, Shall the bill pass?

GEORGE GRAY. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Delaware.

MR. GRAY. Mr. President, I ask for the *yeas* and *nays* on this resolution.

PRESIDENT. The Senator from Delaware requests the *yeas* and *nays* on the resolution.

WILLIAM A. HARRIS. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Kansas.

MR. HARRIS. Before that is done, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The absence of a quorum is suggested. The Secretary will call the roll.

The Secretary calls the roll, as given at the beginning of dramatization. All respond "present," with the exception of Senators Jones, Gear, Hale, and Mason.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). There is a quorum present. The question is on the resolution on which the Senator from Delaware (Mr. Gray) has requested the *yeas* and *nays*. Will the Secretary call the roll.

The Secretary calls the roll of all Senators and those present respond with yes, with the exception of Senators Heitfeld, Money, Carter, and Chandler, who reply as follows: —

MR. HEITFELD. I have a general pair with the senior Senator from Arkansas (Mr. Jones). Observing that he is absent and not being able to make a transfer, I withhold my vote. If at liberty to vote, I should vote *yes*.

MR. MONEY. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Iowa. In his absence I refrain from voting. Were I at liberty to vote, I should vote *yes*.

MR. CARTER. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Maine (Mr. Hale), and therefore withhold my vote.

MR. CHANDLER. I have a general pair with the junior Senator from Illinois (Mr. Mason), but as I understand he would vote as I am about to vote, I feel at liberty to vote, and therefore vote *yes*.

The Secretary hands the document stating the results of the vote to the President.

PRESIDENT. All have voted *yes*, so the resolution is passed unanimously.

MR. COCKRELL. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Missouri.

MR. COCKRELL. I move that the Senate adjourn.

PRESIDENT. The motion is made that the Senate adjourn. All those in favor say *aye*. (*Unanimous vote.*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The Senate stands adjourned.

POSTER

WE shall never war except for peace.

McKINLEY

THE WORLD-WAR CONGRESS

TIME: — April 2, 1917. The Sixty-fifth Congress
PLACE: — Capitol, Washington, D. C.

CHARACTERS

WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THOMAS R. MARSHALL, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

SENATORS

ALABAMA
JOHN H. BANKHEAD
OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD

ARIZONA
HENRY F. ASHURST
MARCUS A. SMITH

ARKANSAS
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON
WILLIAM F. KIRBY

CALIFORNIA
JAMES D. PHELAN
HIRAM W. JOHNSON

COLORADO
CHARLES S. THOMAS
JOHN F. SHAFROTH

CONNECTICUT
FRANK B. BRANDEGEE
GEORGE P. McLEAN

DELAWARE
WILLARD SAULSBURY
JOSIAH O. WOLCOTT

FLORIDA
DUNCAN F. FLETCHER
PARK TRAMMELL

GEORGIA
HOKE SMITH
THOMAS HARDWICK

IDAHO
WILLIAM E. BORAH
JAMES H. BRADY

ILLINOIS
JAMES HAMILTON LEWIS
LAWRENCE Y. SHERMAN

INDIANA
JAMES E. WATSON
HARRY S. NEW

IOWA
ALBERT B. CUMMINS
WILLIAM S. KENYON

KANSAS
WILLIAM H. THOMPSON
CHARLES CURTIS

KENTUCKY
OLLIE M. JAMES
J. C. W. BECKHAM

LOUISIANA
JOSEPH E. RANSDELL
ROBERT F. BROUSSARD

MAINE
BERT M. FERNALD
FREDERICK HALE

MARYLAND
JOHN WALTER SMITH
JOSEPH I. FRANCE

MASSACHUSETTS
HENRY CABOT LODGE
JOHN W. WEEKS

MICHIGAN
WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH
CHARLES E. TOWNSEND

MINNESOTA
KNUTE NELSON
FRANK B. KELLOGG

MISSISSIPPI
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS
JAMES K. VARDAMAN

MISSOURI
WILLIAM J. STONE
JAMES A. REED

MONTANA
HENRY L. MYERS
THOMAS J. WALSH

NEBRASKA
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK
GEORGE W. NORRIS

NEVADA
FRANCIS G. NEWLANDS
KEY PITTMAN

NEW HAMPSHIRE
JACOB H. GALLINGER
HENRY F. HOLLIS

NEW JERSEY
WILLIAM HUGHES
JOSEPH FRELINGHUYSEN

NEW MEXICO
ALBERT B. FALL
ANDRIEUS A. JONES

NEW YORK
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.
WILLIAM M. CALDER

NORTH CAROLINA
LEE S. OVERMAN
FERNIFOLD McL. SIMMONS

NORTH DAKOTA
PORTER J. McCUMBER
ASLE J. GRONNA

OHIO
ATLEE POMERENE
WARREN G. HARDING

OKLAHOMA
THOMAS P. GORE
ROBERT L. OWEN

OREGON
GEORGE E. CHAMBERLAIN
HARRY LANE

PENNSYLVANIA
BOIES PENROSE
PHILANDER C. KNOX

RHODE ISLAND
LEBARON B. COLT
PETER G. GERRY
SOUTH CAROLINA
BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN
ELLISON D. SMITH
SOUTH DAKOTA
THOMAS STERLING
EDWIN S. JOHNSON
TENNESSEE
JOHN K. SHIELDS
KENNETH D. McKELLAR
TEXAS
CHARLES A. CULBERSON
MORRIS SHEPPARD
UTAH
REED SMOOT
WILLIAM KING
VERMONT
WILLIAM P. DILLINGHAM
CARROLL S. PAGE
VIRGINIA
THOMAS D. MARTIN
CLAUDE A. SWANSON
WASHINGTON
WESLEY L. JONES
MILES POINDEXTER
WEST VIRGINIA
NATHAN GOFF
HOWARD SUTHERLAND
WISCONSIN
ROBERT LAFOLLETTE
PAUL O. HUSTING
WYOMING
FRANCIS E. WARREN
JOHN B. KENDRICK

REPRESENTATIVES

CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
CLAUDE KITCHIN, NORTH CAROLINA
JOHN J. FITZGERALD, NEW YORK
HENRY D. FLOOD, VIRGINIA
SWAGAR SHERLEY, KENTUCKY
JAMES R. MANN, ILLINOIS
HENRY ALLEN COOPER, WISCONSIN
FRANK L. GREENE, VERMONT
SECRETARY, JAMES M. BAKER
CHAPLAIN, REVEREND J. L. KIBLER
CLERK
SERGEANT-AT-ARMS
CHIEF CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
J. C. SOUTH

THE WORLD-WAR CONGRESS

ACT I

TIME: — April 2, 1917
PLACE: — Senate Chamber, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

THOMAS R. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

REV. J. L. KIBLER	WILLIAM STONE
DUNCAN FLETCHER	WILLARD SAULSBURY
JOHN F. SHAFROTH	ALBERT CUMMINS
THOMAS S. MARTIN	GEORGE W. NORRIS
JAMES W. WADSWORTH	HENRY CABOT LODGE
WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH	LEBARON COLT
GILBERT M. HITCHCOCK	JAMES M. BAKER, SECRETARY

J. C. SOUTH, CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SERGEANT-AT-ARMS

As many more students should be assigned the names of the other Senators as the numbers in the class will permit. All members respond to roll call, but those mentioned above have also a definite part in this act.

Thomas Marshall, as presiding officer, is seated before the Senators who are arranged in a semicircle facing him. At a desk or table near him are the Secretary and Clerk. J. C. South, Clerk of the House of Representatives, should be standing just outside the door.

The President raps on his desk with his gavel.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Senate will please come to order. The Reverend J. L. Kibler will offer prayer.

REV. J. L. KIBLER (*very reverently*).

In the simplicity of our hearts, O God, and in the very depths of our humility, we come into Thy presence. At the opening of this extraordinary session of Congress, we come first to seek Thy guiding hand. Amid the confusion and violence of the world to-day, we cannot know the things that may shortly come to pass. Lead us, O God, through the darkness until the day dawns and the shadows flee away. Enlighten our minds, control our thoughts, direct our speech, and give us wisdom and grace to defend the truth and to advocate the cause of righteousness.

At this critical time in our country's history, we pray Thee, lead Thy servants in the plain path, teach them Thy ways, and inspire them with those lofty aims and principles that emanate from Thy throne and which have been the heritage of our people from the beginning. In all their deliberations may they seek the accomplishment of Thy purposes and the enlargement of Thy Kingdom in the earth. We ask it all in the name of Christ the Lord. Amen.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Secretary will read the proclamation of the President of the United States, convening Congress in extraordinary session.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS public interests require that the Congress of the United States should be convened in extra session at twelve o'clock, noon, on the second day of April, 1917, to receive a communication concerning grave matters of national policy which should be taken immediately under consideration:

Now, therefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim and declare that an extraordinary occasion requires the Congress of the United States to convene in extra session at the Capitol, in the city of Washington, on the second day of April, 1917, at twelve o'clock noon, of which all persons who shall at that time be entitled to act as Members thereof are hereby required to take notice.

Given under my hand and the seal of the United States of America, the twenty-first day of March, in the year of our Lord 1917, and of the independence of the United States the one hundred and forty-first.

By the President:

WOODROW WILSON

ROBERT LANSING, *Secretary of State*

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Secretary will call the roll to ascertain the presence of a quorum.

The roll call and response are conducted as follows:—

SECRETARY. Colt.

SENATOR COLT. Present.

SECRETARY. Cummins.

SENATOR CUMMINS. Present.

See beginning of dramatization for names. In cases where there is more than one member of the same name, the names of the states should follow, as "Smith, Ga.", "Smith, Md.", "Smith, Mich." A response of "present" should be heard after the calling of each name, with the exception of those of Senators Ball, Bankhead, Gronna, Gore, Goff, Hollis, Harding, Hughes, Mewlands, Thomas, and Trammell,

who either are absent or enter after roll call. The names of some of the absent members might be read for the sake of making the situation more in keeping with actual conditions. Of course no responses would be heard here. Only as many names should be called as numbers in the class will permit.

DUNCAN FLETCHER. I desire to announce that my colleague, Mr. Trammell, is unavoidably absent on account of sickness in his family.

JOHN F. SHAFROTH. I desire to announce the unavoidable absence of my colleague, Mr. Thomas, on account of sickness.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Eighty-six Senators have answered to the roll call. There is a constitutional quorum present.

THOMAS S. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I should like to submit the following resolution (S. Res. 19): —

Resolved, That the Secretary inform The House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business.

(*Hands resolution to the Chair.*)

JAMES W. WADSWORTH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from New York.

MR. WADSWORTH. I move the resolution as stated by the gentleman be adopted.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved that the following resolution be adopted: —

Resolved, That the Secretary inform the House of Representatives that a quorum of the Senate is assembled and that the Senate is ready to proceed to business. All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The *ayes* have it and the resolution is adopted.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Martin.

MR. MARTIN. I should like to move the adoption of the following resolution (S. Res. 20): —

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The question is on the adoption of the following resolution: —

Resolved, That a committee consisting of two Senators be appointed to join such committee as may be appointed by the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and inform him that a quorum of each House is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication he may be pleased to make.

All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The *ayes* have it, and the resolution is adopted. I appoint Mr. Martin and Mr. Gallinger the committee on the part of the Senate.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Mr. Martin.

MR. MARTIN. I submit the following resolution:—

Resolved, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be twelve o'clock meridian, until otherwise ordered.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). What will you do with this resolution?

WILLIAM ALDEN SMITH. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Michigan.

MR. SMITH. I move the resolution be adopted.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It is moved that the following resolution be adopted:—

Resolved, That the hour of daily meeting of the Senate be twelve o'clock meridian until otherwise ordered.

All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is carried and the resolution is adopted.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I am advised there is a strong probability that the House of Representatives will perfect its organization by three o'clock, and it will, I understand, be the pleasure of the President to address both branches of Congress as soon as the organization of the House is completed. I, therefore, move that the Senate take a recess until three o'clock P.M.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is made that the Senate take a recess until three o'clock P.M. Those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is carried. I declare a recess until 3 P.M.

Students converse informally for just a moment, or President may say directly, "3 P.M."

3 P.M.

PRESIDENT (*raps on desk with gavel*). The Senate will please come to order. (*All take their seats.*)

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I am informed that it is the wish of the President to address the two Houses of Congress as soon as the other House completes its organization. I have just returned from the House and it is their thought that they may possibly be organized by eight o'clock, but not before. Under these circumstances I feel that it would be wise for the Senate to recess further until that time. I move that the Senate take a recess until eight o'clock.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). The motion is made that the Senate recess until eight o'clock. All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Those opposed say *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is carried. I declare a recess until eight o'clock.

8:00 P.M.

PRESIDENT (*raps on desk with gavel*). Will the Senate please come to order.

All take their seats. Immediately Mr. South, Chief Clerk of the House of Representatives, enters.

MR. SOUTH. Mr. President, I am directed by the House of Representatives to inform the Senate that a quorum of the House of Representatives has assembled; that Champ Clark, a Representative from the State of Missouri, has been elected Speaker; that South Trimble, a citizen of the State of Kentucky, has been elected Clerk, and that the House is ready for business. Also, that a committee of three was appointed by the Speaker on the part of the House of Representatives to join the committee on the part of the Senate to wait on the President of the United States and notify him that a quorum of the two Houses is assembled and that Congress is ready to receive any communication which he may be pleased to make, and that Mr. Kitchin, Mr. Fitzgerald, and Mr. Mann were appointed as the committee on the part of the House.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. The committee appointed to act in conjunction with a like committee on the part of the House of Representatives to wait upon the President of the United States and to inform him of the organization of the two Houses of Congress have performed the duty assigned them, and beg leave to report that the President has expressed his purpose to communicate to the two Houses in joint session in the Hall of the House of Representatives forthwith.

MR. SOUTH. I wish to announce that the House has passed a concurrent resolution providing that the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the second day of April, 1917, at eight o'clock and thirty minutes P.M., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make them, in which it requested the concurrence of the Senate. (*Exit Mr. South.*)

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The Chair lays before the Senate a concurrent resolution of the House of Representatives which the Secretary will read.

SECRETARY (*reads*).

> *Resolved by the House of Representatives* (the Senate concurring), That the two Houses of Congress assemble in the Hall of the House of Representatives on Monday, the second day of April, 1917, at eight o'clock and thirty minutes P.M., for the purpose of receiving such communications as the President of the United States shall be pleased to make them.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I move that the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It has been moved that the Senate concur in the resolution of the House of Representatives. All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The motion is unanimously carried.

The Sergeant-at-arms will carry out the instruc-

tions of the Senate; and the Senate will proceed to the Hall of the House of Representatives.

Headed by the President of the Senate, the Secretary and Sergeant-at-arms, Senators Martin, Stone, Saulsbury, Cummins, Norris, Lodge, Colt, and as many other Senators as the numbers in the class will permit, leave the room. They stand just outside the door awaiting the announcement of their presence by the doorkeeper. At least ten students should remain in their seats to represent the House of Representatives.

THE WORLD-WAR CONGRESS

ACT II

TIME: — April 2, 1917. The Sixty-fifth Congress
PLACE: — Hall of the House of Representatives, Capitol, Washington

CHARACTERS

WOODROW WILSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THOMAS R. MARSHALL, VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

REPRESENTATIVES

CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE
CLAUDE KITCHIN, NORTH CAROLINA
JOHN J. FITZGERALD, NEW YORK
HENRY D. FLOOD, VIRGINIA
SWAGAR SHERLEY, KENTUCKY
JAMES R. MANN, ILLINOIS
HENRY ALLEN COOPER, WISCONSIN
FRANK L. GREENE, VERMONT

SENATORS

THOMAS MARTIN, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM STONE, MISSOURI
WILLARD SAULSBURY, DELAWARE
ALBERT CUMMINS, IOWA
GEORGE W. NORRIS, NEBRASKA
HENRY CABOT LODGE, MASSACHUSETTS
LEBARON COLT, RHODE ISLAND

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE, JAMES M. BAKER

CHIEF CLERK OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, J. C. SOUTH

DOORKEEPER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, J. J. SINNOTT

The Speaker of the House is seated before the other Representatives. At his right is a chair for the President of the Senate. The Clerk is at the table, the Doorkeeper is standing just inside the door, and President Wilson is waiting just outside the door.

DOORKEEPER. I announce the Vice-President of the United States and the Members of the United States Senate.

Members of the House rise, and remain standing until the Senators are all seated. The Vice-President takes the chair at the right of the Speaker.

SPEAKER (*rising*). On the part of the House, the Chair appoints Messrs. Kitchin, Fitzgerald, Flood, Sherley, Mann, Cooper of Wisconsin, and Greene of Vermont a committee to wait on the President in conjunction with the Senate committee which the Vice-President will announce.

VICE-PRESIDENT (*rising*). On behalf of the Senate, the Chair appoints Senators Martin, Stone, Saulsbury, Cummins, Norris, Lodge, Colt.

The above Senators and Representatives leave the room. They return immediately with the President of the United States. The President stands at the Clerk's desk amid prolonged applause. His escorts take their seats.

SPEAKER (*rising*). Gentlemen of the Sixty-fifth

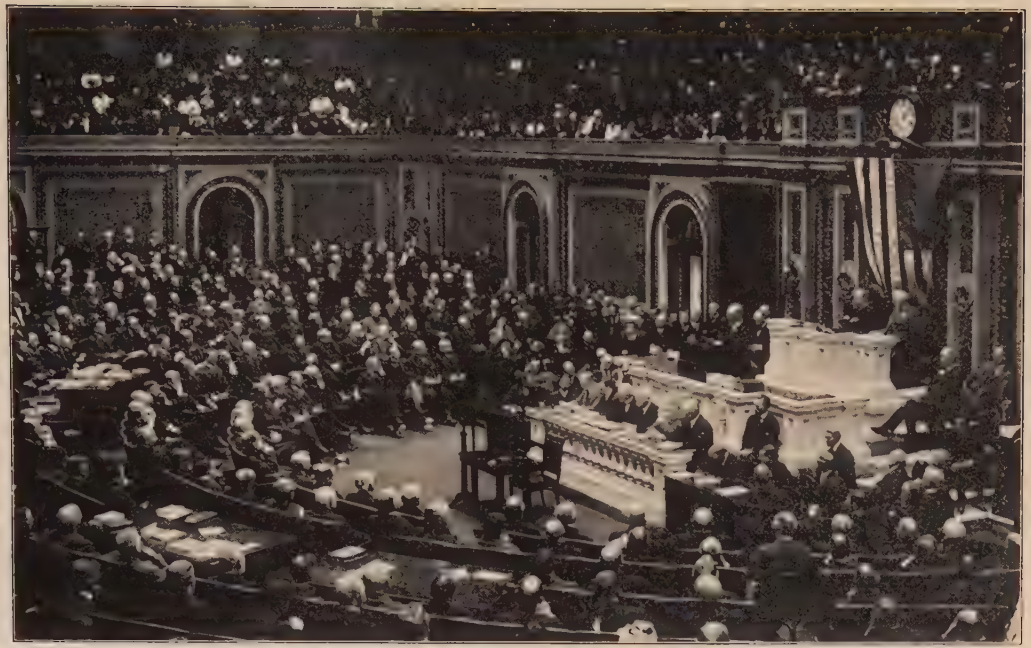
Congress, I present the President of the United States. (*Long applause.*)

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Gentlemen of the Congress: —

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right nor permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last, I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft, in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarine might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruth-



Copyright by G. V. Buck *From Underwood & Underwood*

THE WORLD-WAR CONGRESS

lessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German Government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results, indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German Government has swept aside under plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am now not thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent

people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. . . .

(*Applause.*)

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German Government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable coöperation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal

force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. . . .

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-sixth of February. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. (*Applause.*) We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government

acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellow men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried out, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own. . . . (*Applause.*)

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of gov-

ernment with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been done at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were no doubt as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that their Government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its

power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them. . . .

We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it, because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave

her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

(*Prolonged applause.*)

At the close of the President's address, he retires from the Hall, followed by the Vice-President, members of the Senate, Secretary, and Sergeant-at-arms, who return to their Chamber. As soon as they are outside the door, the students return and take their seats ready for the next act.

THE WORLD-WAR CONGRESS

ACT III

TIME: — April 2, 1917. The Sixty-fifth Congress
PLACE: — The Senate Chamber, Capitol

CHARACTERS

THOMAS MARSHALL, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE
THOMAS MARTIN
CLERK

As many others should represent Senators as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this act.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I sent to the desk a joint resolution (S. J. Res. I) which I ask may be read at length and referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). Will the Clerk read the resolution.

CLERK (*reads*).

> WHEREAS the recent acts of the Imperial German Government are acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States: —
>
> *Resolved*, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared; and

That the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to take immediate steps not only to put the country in a thorough state of defense, but also to exert all of its power and employ all of its resources to carry on war against the Imperial German Government and to bring the conflict to a successful termination.

PRESIDENT (*seated*). The joint resolution will be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

MR. MARTIN. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. The gentleman from Virginia.

MR. MARTIN. I move that the Senate adjourn.

PRESIDENT (*rising*). It has been moved that the Senate adjourn. All those in favor say *aye*. (*All say "aye."*) Opposed, *no*. (*No "noes."*)

The Senate stands adjourned until tomorrow at twelve o'clock meridian.

POSTERS

THE world must be made safe for democracy.

WILSON

THE right is more precious than peace.

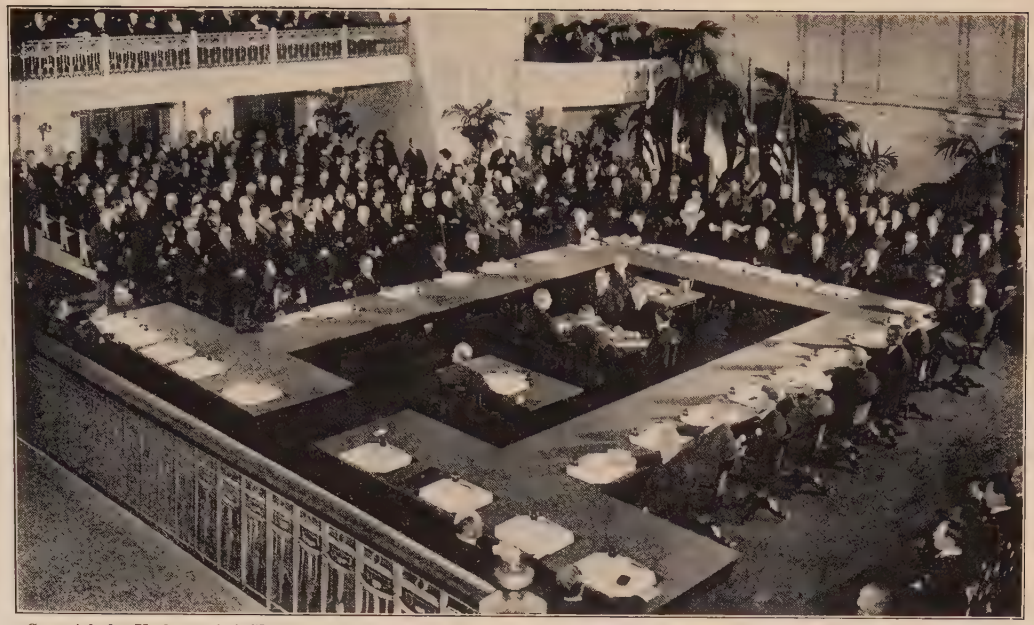
WILSON

THIS is a struggle between the new spirit of democracy and the old spirit of imperialism, rather than a struggle between nations.

WILSON

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured.

WILSON



Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

THE ARMS CONFERENCE IN FULL SESSION

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

TIME: — November 12, 1921 — February 6, 1922

PLACE: — The plenary sessions were held in Continental Memorial Hall, in the building of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C. The committee meetings and closed sessions were held in the Pan-American Building, Washington.

CHARACTERS

WARREN G. HARDING, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

REV. DR. ABERNETHY

DELEGATES from the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, The Netherlands, Belgium, Portugal

UNITED STATES

Principal Delegates

CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, Secretary of State, Chairman of the Conference

ELIHU ROOT, former Senator and ex-Secretary of State

HENRY CABOT LODGE, Senator from Massachusetts

OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD, Senator from Alabama

Advisory Committee

GEORGE SUTHERLAND of Utah, ex-Senator

HERBERT HOOVER of California, Secretary of Commerce

GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING, Chief-of-Staff of the Army

REAR-ADMIRAL W. L. ROGERS of the Navy

STEPHEN G. PORTER of Pennsylvania, Representative in Congress and Chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs

Governor John M. Parker of Louisiana

Henry P. Fletcher of Pennsylvania, Assistant Secretary of State

Colonel J. M. Wainwright of New York, Assistant Secretary of War

Colonel Theodore Roosevelt of New York, Assistant Secretary of the Navy

Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird of Massachusetts

Mrs. Katherine Phillips Edson of California

Mrs. Eleanor Franklin Egan of New York

Mrs. Thomas G. Winter of Minnesota, President-General of the Federation of Women's Clubs

William Boyce Thompson of New York, financier and close political friend of President Harding

Willard Saulsbury of Delaware, ex-Senator

Samuel Gompers of the District of Columbia, President of the American Federation of Labor

John L. Lewis of Indiana, President of the United Mine Workers of America

Walter George Smith of Pennsylvania, lawyer and publicist

Carmi Thompson of Ohio, former Treasurer of the United States

Charles S. Barrett of Georgia, President of the National Farm Bureau

Harold M. Sewall of Maine, former Minister to Hawaii and Consul-General in Samoa

BRITISH EMPIRE

Principal Delegates

Great Britain

The Right Honorable David Lloyd George, Prime Minister and First Lord of the Treasury

The Right Honorable Sir Arthur J. Balfour (Bal'-fo͝or), Lord President of the Council

The Right Honorable Lord Lee of Fareham, First Lord of the Admiralty

The Right Honorable Sir Auckland Geddes (Ged'-dĕs), British Ambassador to the United States

CANADA

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SIR ROBERT BORDEN, former Prime Minister of Canada

AUSTRALIA

THE RIGHT HONORABLE G. F. PEARCE, Australian Minister for Defense

NEW ZEALAND

THE HONORABLE SIR JOHN SALMOND, Judge of the Supreme Court of New Zealand

INDIA

THE RIGHT HONORABLE SRINIVASA SASTRI (Säs′-trē), member of the Indian Council of State

FRANCE

Principal Delegates

MR. ARISTIDE BRIAND (Brē-oṅ), Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs

MR. RENÉ VIVIANI, former Prime Minister

MR. ALBERT SARRAUT (Sȧr-rō) Minister of the Colonies

MR. JULES JUSSERAND (Yüs-sā-roṅ), French Ambassador at Washington

JAPAN

Principal Delegates

PRINCE IYESATO TOKUGAWA (Tō-kōō-gä-wä), President of House of Peers

ADMIRAL TOMOSABURO KATO, Minister of Marine

BARON KIJURO SHIDEHARA (Shē-dā-hä-rä), Japanese Ambassador to United States

MR. MASANAO HANIHARA (Hä-nē-hä-rä), Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs

ITALY

Principal Delegates

HIS EXCELLENCY CARLO SCHANZER (Shän′-zȧrr), Senator, ex-Minister of Treasury, Chairman

His Excellency Vittorio Rolandi-Ricci (Rĭt′-chē), Senator, Italian Ambassador to the United States
His Excellency Filippo Meda, ex-Minister of Treasury
Senator Luigi Albertini (Äl-bĕr-tē′-nē)

THE NETHERLANDS

Principal Delegates

Jonkheer H. A. van Karnebeek, Minister of Foreign Affairs
Jonkheer F. Beelaerts van Blokland, Chief of Political Division of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Dr. E. Mcresco, Secretary-General of Ministry for the Colonies

BELGIUM

Principal Delegate

Baron de Cartier, Ambassador at Washington

CHINA

Principal Delegates

Mr. S. Alfred Sze (Tzā [1]), Minister to the United States
Mr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Minister to Great Britain
Dr. Chung hui Wang, Chief Justice of Supreme Court
Mr. Chao-Chu Wu

PORTUGAL

Principal Delegates

Viscount d'Alte (Däl′-tā), Portuguese Minister to the United States
Captain E. de Vasconcellos

With the exception of those of the United States, only the names of the principal delegates are given. However, each delegation included special advisers, diplomatic advisers, counselors, technical delegates, military ad-

[1] Pronunciation accepted by the minister when traveling abroad. True Chinese pronunciation is Sŭ.

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

HEADS OF THE NINE DELEGATIONS AT THE ARMS CONFERENCE, AND SECRETARY-GENERAL GARRETT

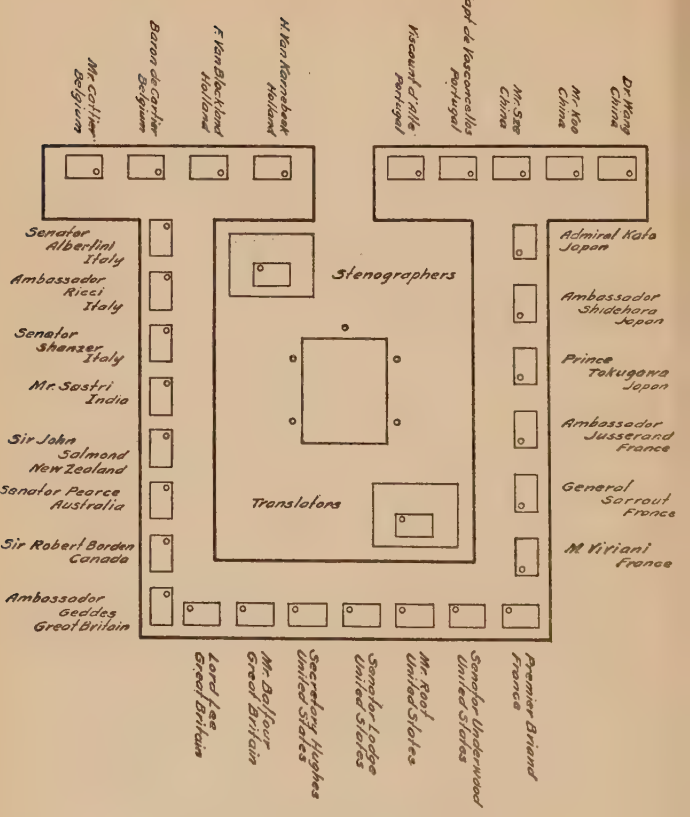
Left to right: Secretary-General Garrett, Jonkheer H. A. Van Karnebeek, Alfred Sze, Sir Arthur Balfour, Charles E. Hughes, Aristide Briand, Carlo Schanzer, Baron de Cartier, Prince Tokugawa, Viscount d'Alte.

visers, attachés, translators, clerks, economic advisers, secretaries, alternate delegates, reporters, and representatives from nearly all their special departments. The number of people making up the personnel of each delegation was as follows: —

United States	102	Japan	94
Great Britain	62	The Netherlands	13
France	43	Belgium	8
Italy	35	China	136
		Portugal 14	

In all the plenary sessions, the principal delegates are seated about tables which are arranged in the form of a horseshoe. Two sides of the room are filled with representatives of the press, prominent among whom are many publicists of international renown, including William J. Bryan, Col. E. M. House, Dr. David Hill, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Ida Tarbell, and H. G. Wells. In the rear are seated advisers, experts, and secretaries, while Congressmen, wives of the delegates, and visitors fill the balcony. The diagram (p. 180) indicates the location of principal delegates, stenographers, and translators.

For the reading lesson, chairs should be placed in such a way that they form a seating arrangement similar to that indicated in the diagram. There should be at least as many characters as called for in each plenary session, and as many others as the numbers in the class will permit. If the class contains more than thirty-four members, the number of principal delegates, the others should represent advisers or press or some other division of the delegation and sit at the side or in the rear.



ARMS CONFERENCE TABLE.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

FIRST PLENARY SESSION

TIME: — November 12, 1921
PLACE: — Continental Memorial Hall

CHARACTERS

SECRETARY HUGHES	BARON DE CARTIER
REV. DR. ABERNETHY	MR. ALFRED SZE
PRESIDENT HARDING	JONKHEER VAN KARNEBEEK
MR. ARISTIDE BRIAND	VISCOUNT D'ALTE
SIR A. J. BALFOUR	SENATOR LODGE
PRINCE TOKUGAWA	W. J. BRYAN
SENATOR SCHANZER	

INTERPRETER

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this session.

Secretary Hughes acts as Chairman pro tempore, since his Government called the Conference. President Harding enters from a side door amid a burst of applause. He stands for a moment, bows to the right and left, and then takes a seat in a conspicuous place.

(*Secretary Hughes raps on his desk with his gavel.*)

SECRETARY HUGHES (*rising*). Prayer will be offered by Reverend Dr. Abernethy.

REV. DR. ABERNETHY (*speaking in English* [1]).

[1] English and French are the official languages of the Conference. At the conclusion of each speech it is immediately rendered into the other language by the official interpreter.

Almighty God, we thank Thee for the coming of this eventful day. We have seen it from afar and now we rejoice that it has at last dawned. May it bring untold blessing to a troubled world. O Thou Omnipotent One, to-day, as in other days, we believe that Thou dost guide in human affairs. Thou hast made of one blood all nations that dwell upon the earth, and though we are of many races and many tongues, yet the interests of the few are the interests of the larger number. May we feel assured that the welfare and happiness and prosperity of the human family are inexpressibly dear to thy heart.

May we walk softly and humbly before Thee this day and throughout the fateful days of this great Conference. May we be intent on knowing thy will; and, knowing it, may we have the courage to do it. And may it be that the findings of this Conference shall be so wise, so far-reaching, and so beneficial that all mankind may take new hope and fresh courage. And to Thee shall be the praise and the glory forever and forever. Amen.

MR. HUGHES (*rising*). The President of the United States.

PRESIDENT HARDING (*rises and comes forward while all stand and applaud heartily for a moment. Seats are resumed immediately*).

Mr. Secretary and Members of the Conference, Ladies and Gentlemen: —

It is a great and happy privilege to bid the delegates to this Conference a cordial welcome to the capital of the United States of America. Not only is it a satisfaction to greet you because we were lately participants in a common cause, in which shared sacrifices and sorrows and triumphs brought our nations more closely together, but it is gratify-

ing to address you as the spokesman for nations whose convictions and attending actions have so much to do with the weal or woe of all mankind.

It is not possible to overappraise the importance of such a Conference. It is no unseemly boast, no disparagement of other nations which, though not represented, are held in highest respect, to declare that the conclusions of this body will have a signal influence on all human progress — on the fortunes of the world.

Here is a meeting, I can well believe, which is an earnest of the awakened conscience of twentieth-century civilization. It is not a convention of remorse, nor a session of sorrow. It is not the conference of victors to define terms of settlement. Nor is it a council of nations seeking to remake humankind. It is rather a coming together from all parts of the earth, to apply the better attributes of mankind to minimize the faults in our international relationships.

Speaking as official sponsor for the invitation, I think I may say the call is not of the United States of America alone; it is rather the spoken word of a war-wearied world struggling for restoration, hungering and thirsting for better relationship; of humanity crying for relief and craving assurances of lasting peace.

It is easy to understand this world-wide aspiration. The glory of triumph, the rejoicing in achievement, the love of liberty, the devotion to country, the pangs of sorrow, the burdens of debt, the desolation of ruin — all these are appraised alike in all lands. Here in the United States we are but freshly turned from the burial of an Unknown American Soldier, when a nation sorrowed while paying him tribute.

Whether it was spoken or not, a hundred millions of our people were summarizing the inexcusable cause, the incalculable cost, the unspeakable sacrifices, and the unutter-

able sorrows, and there was the ever-impelling question: How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and make good will regnant everywhere.

All of us demand liberty and justice. There cannot be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world to-day is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding.

Out of the cataclysm of the World War came new fellowships, new convictions, new aspirations. It is ours to make the most of them. A world staggering with debt needs its burden lifted. Humanity, which has been shocked by wanton destruction, would minimize the agencies of that destruction. Contemplating the measureless cost of war and the continuing burden of armament, all thoughtful peoples wish for real limitation of armament and would like war outlawed. In soberest reflection the world's hundreds of millions who pay in peace and die in war wish their statesmen to turn the expenditures for destruction into means of construction, aimed at a higher state for those who live and follow after.

It is not alone that the world cannot readjust itself and cast aside the excess burdens without relief from the leaders of men. War has grown progressively cruel and more destructive from the first recorded conflict to this pregnant day, and the reverse order would more become our boasted civilization.

Gentlemen of the Conference, the United States welcomes you with unselfish hands. We harbor no fears; we

have no sordid ends to serve; we suspect no enemy; we contemplate or apprehend no conquest. Content with what we have, we seek nothing which is another's. We only wish to do with you that finer, nobler thing which no nation can do alone.

We wish to sit with you at the table of international understanding and good will. In good conscience we are eager to meet you frankly, and invite and offer coöperation. The world demands a sober contemplation of the existing order and the realization that there can be no cure without sacrifice, not by one of us, but by all of us.

I do not mean surrendered rights, or narrowed freedom, or denied aspirations, or ignored national necessities. Our Republic would no more ask for these than it would give. No pride need be humbled, no nationality submerged, but I would have a mergence of minds committing all of us to less preparation for war and more enjoyment of fortunate peace.

The higher hopes come of the spirit of our coming together. It is but just to recognize varying needs and peculiar positions. Nothing can be accomplished in disregard of national apprehensions. Rather, we should act together to remove the causes of apprehensions. This is not to be done in intrigue. Greater assurance is found in the exchanges of simple honesty and directness among men resolved to accomplish as becomes leaders among nations, when civilization itself has come to its crucial test.

It is not to be challenged that government fails when the excess of its cost robs the people of the way to happiness and the opportunity to achieve. If the finer sentiments were not urging, the cold, hard facts of excessive cost and the eloquence of economics would urge to reduce our armaments. If the concept of a better order does not appeal, then let us ponder the burden and the blight of continued competition.

It is not to be denied that the world has swung along throughout the ages without heeding this call from the kindlier hearts of men. But the same world never before was so tragically brought to realization of the utter futility of passion's sway when reason and conscience and fellowship point a nobler way.

I can speak officially only for our United States. Our hundred millions frankly want less of armament and none of war. Wholly free from guile, sure in our own minds that we harbor no unworthy designs, we accredit the world with the same good intent. So I welcome you, not alone in good will and high purpose, but with high faith.

We are met for a service of mankind. In all simplicity, in all honesty and all honor, there may be written here the avowals of a world conscience refined by the consuming fires of war, and made more sensitive by the anxious aftermath. I hope for that understanding which will emphasize the guaranties of peace, and for commitments to less burdens and a better order which will tranquilize the world. In such an accomplishment there will be added glory to your flags and ours, and the rejoicing of mankind will make the transcending music of all succeeding time.

(*Applause*)

Mr. Hughes (*rising*). It is understood to be agreeable to the delegates that both French and English shall be official languages of the Conference: and, in order that time may be saved, as the address of the President has already been distributed in both languages, it is assumed not to be necessary to have it repeated in interpretation.

Is that agreeable to you, Mr. Briand?

Mr. Briand (*speaking in French*). I thank you, Mr. Chairman. Since, as you say, a translation has

been distributed for the sake of saving time, we shall not insist on having the speech interpreted into French.

MR. HUGHES. Gentlemen, it is now in order to proceed to the organization of the Conference.

(*Chairman sits*)

MR. BALFOUR. Mr. Chairman.

MR. HUGHES. Mr. Balfour.

MR. BALFOUR. Mr. Secretary, Gentlemen:—

The President of the United States has, in his most noble and eloquent address, given this Conference a lead. He has even provided it, if I may so say, with a motto, in some of the last words which he spoke: simplicity, honesty, honor.

You, Mr. Secretary, have just appealed to us to organize our proceedings: but neither can we follow the advice of the President of the United States nor can we carry out the recommendations of the Secretary of State unless we have, to begin with, a chairman who shall preside over our proceedings.

There is a well-understood rule, practised, so far as I know, universally, that the nation which invites the conference, the nation which offers that conference hospitality, should also provide it with its chairman and presiding genius. That rule, I take it, would under any circumstances be followed on the present occasion. But, if I may say so in his presence, I think that the Secretary of State has not only these technical rights to our allegiance, but also has personal qualifications which specially fit him to carry out the great and responsible duties which will fall to his lot. (*Applause*) The capacity, character, courtesy, experience, all the great qualities required in a chairman presiding over a great assembly are his. I therefore feel that I am not exceeding my privileges if I venture, on behalf of my col-

leagues around this table, to say that, without going through the vain and empty formality of a resolution and a vote, we ask you, Mr. Secretary, to take the chair now and hereafter whenever this Conference meets as on the present occasion and also at every committee of which you, Mr. Secretary, may be a member.

If, as I doubt not, in the words that I have spoken I have carried with me the unanimous and hearty sympathy of every gentleman around the table whom I am addressing, you may perhaps consider that I am endowed with sufficient authority to ask you now and here to take the chair and preside over all our future proceedings. (*Applause*)

MR. HUGHES. Gentlemen:—

It is with a deep sense of privilege and responsibility that I accept the honor you have conferred.

Permit me to express the most cordial appreciation of the assurances of friendly coöperation which have been generously expressed by the representatives of all the invited governments. The earnest desire and purpose, manifested in every step in the approach of this meeting, that we should meet the reasonable expectation of a watching world by effective action suited to the opportunity, is the best augury for the success of the Conference.

The President invited the Governments of the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan to participate in a conference on the subject of limitation of armament, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern questions also would be discussed. It would have been most agreeable to the President to have invited all the powers to take part in this Conference, but it was thought to be a time when other considerations should yield to the practical requirements of the existing exigency, and in this view the invitation was extended to the group known as the principal allied and

associated powers, which, by reason of the conditions produced by the war, control in the main the armament of the world. The opportunity to limit armament lies within their grasp.

It was recognized, however, that the interest of other powers in the Far East made it appropriate that they should be invited to participate in the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern problems, and, with the approval of the Five Powers, an invitation to take part in the discussion of those questions has been extended to Belgium, China, The Netherlands, and Portugal.

The inclusion of the proposal for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions was not for the purpose of embarrassing or delaying an agreement for limitation of armament, but rather to support that undertaking by availing ourselves of this meeting to endeavor to reach a common understanding as to the principles and policies to be followed in the Far East and thus greatly to diminish and, if possible, wholly to remove discernible sources of controversy. It is believed that by interchanges of views at this opportune time the governments represented here may find a basis of accord and thus give expression to their desire to assure enduring friendship.

In the public discussions which have preceded the Conference, there have been apparently two competing views: one, that the consideration of armament should await the result of the discussion of Far Eastern questions, and another, that the latter discussion should be postponed until an agreement for limitation of armament has been reached. I am unable to find sufficient reason for adopting either of these extreme views. I think that it would be most unfortunate if we should disappoint the hopes which have attached to this meeting by a postponement of the consideration of the first subject.

The world looks to this Conference to relieve humanity of the crushing burden created by competition in armament, and it is the view of the American Government that we should meet that expectation without any unnecessary delay. (*Applause*) It is therefore proposed that the Conference should proceed at once to consider the question of the limitation of armament.

This, however, does not mean that we must postpone the examination of the Far Eastern questions. These questions of vast importance press for solution. It is hoped that immediate provision may be made to deal with them adequately, and it is suggested that it may be found to be entirely practicable, through the distribution of the work among designated committees, to make progress to the ends sought to be achieved without either subject being treated as a hindrance to the proper consideration of the other. . . .

While we are warned by the inadequacy of earlier endeavors for limitation of armament, we cannot fail to recognize the extraordinary opportunity now presented. We not only have the lessons of the past to guide us, not only do we have the reaction from the disillusioning experiences of war, but we must meet the challenge of imperative economic demands. What was convenient or highly desirable before is now a matter of vital necessity. If there is to be economic rehabilitation, if the longings for reasonable progress are not to be denied, if we are to be spared the uprisings of peoples made desperate in the desire to shake off burdens no longer endurable, competition in armament must stop. (*Great applause*) The present opportunity not only derives its advantage from a general appreciation of this fact, but the power to deal with the exigency now rests with a small group of nations represented here, who have every reason to desire peace and to promote amity.

Now the great opportunity of liberty-loving and peace-preserving democracies has come. Is it not plain that the time has passed for mere resolutions, that the responsible powers should examine the question of limitation of armament? We can no longer content ourselves with investigations, with statistics, with reports, with the circumlocution of inquiry. The essential facts are sufficiently known. The time is come, and this Conference has been called not for general resolutions or mutual advice, but for action. (*Applause*) We meet with full understanding that the aspirations of mankind are not to be defeated either by plausible suggestions of postponement or by impracticable counsels of perfection. Power and responsibility are here, and the world awaits a practicable program which shall at once be put into execution. (*Applause*)

I am confident that I shall have your approval in suggesting that in this matter, as well as in others before the Conference, it is desirable to follow the course of procedure which has the best promise of achievement rather than one which would facilitate division; and thus, constantly aiming to agree so far as possible, we shall, with each point of agreement, make it easier to proceed to others.

The question in relation to armaments which may be regarded as of primary importance at this time and with which we can deal most promptly and effectively is the limitation of naval armament. There are certain general considerations which may be deemed pertinent to this subject.

The first is that the core of the difficulty is to be found in the competition in naval programs, and that, in order appropriately to limit naval armament, competition in its production must be abandoned. Competition will not be remedied by resolves with respect to the method of its continuance. One program inevitably leads to another,

and, if competition continues, its regulation is impracticable. There is only one adequate way out, and that is to end it now. (*Applause*)

It is apparent that this cannot be accomplished without serious sacrifices. Enormous sums have been expended upon ships under construction, and building programs which are now under way cannot be given up without heavy loss. Yet if the present construction of capital ships goes forward, other ships will inevitably be built to rival them, and this will lead to still others. Thus the race will continue, so long as ability to continue lasts. The effort to escape sacrifices is futile. We must face them or yield our purpose. (*Applause*)

It is also clear that no one of the naval powers should be expected to make the sacrifices alone. (*Applause*) The only hope of limitation of naval armament is by agreement among the nations concerned, and this agreement should be entirely fair and reasonable in the extent of the sacrifices required of each of the powers. In considering the basis of such agreement and the commensurate sacrifices to be required, it is necessary to have regard to the existing naval strength of the great naval powers, including the extent of construction already effected in the case of ships in process. This follows from the fact that one nation is as free to compete as another, and each may find grounds for its action.

What one may do another may demand the opportunity to rival, and we remain in the thrall of competitive effort.

I may add that the American delegates are advised by their naval experts that the tonnage of capital ships may fairly be taken to measure the relative strength of navies, as the provision for auxiliary combatant craft should sustain a reasonable relation to the capital-ship tonnage allowed.

Copyright by Underwood & Underwood

THE UNITED STATES DELEGATION TO THE ARMS CONFERENCE

Elihu Root, Oscar W. Underwood, Charles E. Hughes, Henry Cabot Lodge

It would also seem to be a vital part of a plan for the limitation of naval armament that there should be a naval holiday. It is proposed that for a period of not less than ten years there should be no further construction of capital ships.

W. J. Bryan. Hurrah! Hurrah!

All Assembly except Diplomats. Hurrah!

Mr. Hughes (*continues*).

I am happy to say that I am at liberty to go beyond these general propositions, and, on behalf of the American delegation acting under the instructions of the President of the United States, to submit to you a concrete proposition for an agreement for the limitation of naval armament. (*Great applause. Mr. Hughes looks at Mr. Balfour on his left and Prince Tokugawa on his right.*) It should be added that this proposal immediately concerns the British Empire, Japan, and the United States. In view of the extraordinary conditions, due to the World War, affecting the existing strength of the navies of France and Italy, it is not thought to be necessary to discuss at this stage of the proceedings the tonnage allowance of these nations, but the United States proposes that this matter be reserved for the later consideration of the Conference.

In making the present proposal the United States is most solicitous to deal with the question upon an entirely reasonable and practicable basis to the end that the just interests of all shall be adequately guarded, and the national security and defense shall be maintained. Four general principles have been applied: —

1. That all capital shipbuilding programs, either actual or projected, should be abandoned.

2. That further reduction should be made through the scrapping of certain of the older ships.

3. That, in general, regard should be had to the existing naval strength of the powers concerned.

4. That the capital-ship tonnage should be used as the measurement of strength for navies, and a proportionate allowance of auxiliary combatant craft prescribed.

THE AMERICAN PROPOSALS

The principal features of the proposed agreement are:—

United States

The United States is now completing its program of 1916 calling for ten new battleships and six battle cruisers. One battleship has been completed. The others are in various stages of construction; in some cases from 60 to 80 per cent of the construction has been done. On these fifteen capital ships now being built over $330,000,000 have been spent. Still the United States is willing, in the interest of an immediate limitation of naval armament, to scrap all these ships.

The United States proposes if this plan is accepted:—

1. To scrap all capital ships now under construction. This includes six battle cruisers and seven battleships on the ways and in the course of building, and two battleships launched.

The total number of new capital ships thus to be scrapped is fifteen. The total tonnage of the new capital ships when completed would be 618,000 tons.

2. To scrap all of the older battleships up to but not including the Delaware and North Dakota. The number of these old battleships to be scrapped is fifteen. Their total tonnage is 227,740 tons.

Thus the number of capital ships to be scrapped by the United States, if this plan is accepted, is thirty, with an aggregate tonnage (including that of ships in construction, if completed) of 845,740 tons.

Great Britain

The plan contemplates that Great Britain and Japan shall take action which is fairly commensurate with this action on the part of the United States.

It is proposed that Great Britain: —

1. Shall stop further construction of the four new Hoods, the new capital ships not laid down, but upon which money has been spent. The four ships, if completed, would have a tonnage displacement of 172,000 tons.

2. Shall, in addition, scrap her pre-dreadnoughts, second-line battleships and first-line battleships up to but not including the King George V class.

These, with certain pre-dreadnoughts which it is understood have already been scrapped, would amount to nineteen capital ships and a tonnage reduction of 411,375 tons. (*Nods of naval experts from Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan prove the truth of his statements.*)

The total tonnage of ships thus to be scrapped by Great Britain (including the tonnage of the four Hoods, if completed) would be 583,375 tons.

Japan

It is proposed that Japan: —

1. Shall abandon her program of ships not yet laid down, namely, the K–11, Owari, No. 7 and No. 8, battleships, and Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8, battle cruisers.

It should be observed that this does not involve the stopping of construction, as the construction of none of these ships has been begun.

2. Shall scrap three capital ships (the Mutsu, launched; the Tosa, the Kago, in course of building), and four battle cruisers (the Amagi and Akagi, in course of building, and the Atoga and Takao, not yet laid down, but for which certain material has been assembled).

The total number of new capital ships to be scrapped under this paragraph is seven. The total tonnage of these new capital ships when completed would be 289,130 tons. (*Japanese delegates look at one another as if wondering where Mr. Hughes had secured such definite information regarding their navy. Many of the facts were unknown to most of the people of Japan.*)

3. Shall scrap all pre-dreadnoughts and battleships of the second line. This would include the scrapping of all ships up to but not including the Settsu; that is, the scrapping of ten old ships, with a total tonnage of 159,828 tons.

The total reduction of tonnage on vessels existing, laid down, or for which material has been assembled (taking the tonnage of the new ships when completed), would be 448,928 tons.

Thus, under this plan, there would be immediately destroyed, of the navies of the three powers, sixty-six capital fighting ships, built and building, with a total tonnage of 1,878,043 tons.

Limit for Three Navies

It is proposed that it should be agreed by the United States, Great Britain, and Japan that their navies, with respect to capital ships, within three months after the making of the agreement shall consist of certain ships, designated in the proposal, and number for the United States eighteen, for Great Britain twenty-two, for Japan ten.

The tonnage of these ships would be as follows: Of the United States 500,650, of Great Britain 604,450, of Japan 299,700. In reaching this result the age factor in the case of the respective navies has received appropriate consideration.

Replacement

As to replacement, the United States proposes: —

1. That it be agreed that the first replacement tonnage

shall not be laid down until ten years from the date of the agreement.

2. That replacements be limited by an agreed maximum of capital ship tonnage as follows: —

For the United States, 500,000 tons.

For Great Britain, 500,000 tons.

For Japan, 300,000 tons.

3. That, subject to the ten-year limitation above fixed and the maximum standards, capital ships may be replaced when they are twenty years old by new capital-ship construction.

4. That no capital ship shall be built in replacement with a tonnage displacement of more than 35,000 tons.

I have sketched the proposal only in outline, leaving the technical details to be supplied by the formal proposition, which is ready for submission to the delegates.

The plan includes provision for the limitation of auxiliary surface combatant craft. This term embraces three classes, that is: (1) Auxiliary surface combatant craft, such as cruisers (exclusive of battle cruisers), flotilla leaders, destroyers, and various surface types; (2) submarines; and (3) airplane carriers.

I shall not attempt to review the proposals for these various classes, as they bear a definite relation to the provisions for capital fighting ships.

With the acceptance of this plan, the burden of meeting the demands of competition in naval armament will be lifted. Enormous sums will be released to aid the progress of civilization. At the same time the proper demands of national defense will be adequately met, that the nations will have ample opportunity during the naval holiday of ten years to consider their future course. Preparation for future naval war shall stop now. (*Great applause*) I shall

not attempt at this time to take up the other topics which have been listed on the tentative agenda proposed in anticipation of the Conference. (*Applause*)

As in the case of the address given by the President, copies in both French and English will be available for distribution, so may I ask if it is agreeable that the translation into French may be dispensed with? (*Chairman remains standing*)

MR. BRIAND (*speaking in French*). With great pleasure.

CHAIRMAN. I suggest that the Conference now proceed to the election of a Secretary-General, and I propose, for the purpose, the Honorable John W. Garrett. (*After a pause*) I understand that the selection of Mr. Garrett as Secretary-General is agreed to by the delegates. (*Applause*)

I take the liberty of suggesting that the heads of missions of the five Great Powers, or such representatives as each power may respectively select for the purpose, should constitute a committee on program and procedure with respect to the questions relating to the limitation of armament. Is that agreeable to the delegates? (*After a pause*) That suggestion is accepted, and the heads of the delegations of the Five Powers, or such representatives as each power respectively may designate for the purpose, will constitute a committee on program and procedure with respect to the subject of limitation of armament.

I also suggest that the heads of missions of the Five Powers, and of the other powers who have been invited to take part in the discussion of Pacific and Far

Eastern questions, or such representatives as such powers may respectively designate for the purpose, shall constitute a committee on program and procedure for the discussion of Pacific and Far Eastern questions. Is that agreeable to the delegates? (*After a pause*) I understand that that suggestion is acceptable to all the delegates. The heads of the missions representative of the Nine Powers, as suggested, will constitute the committee on program and procedure with relation to the subject of Pacific and Far Eastern problems.

It is suggested that upon the adjournment of the session to-day, the credentials of the delegates may be left with the Secretary-General.

If there is no further business which it is desired to transact at this session of the Conference, and it is entirely agreeable to the delegation, a motion to adjourn until Tuesday at eleven o'clock at this place will be in order.

DELEGATES. Briand! Briand! Briand!

Mr. Hughes turns toward the French Premier, bows to him and resumes his seat.

MR. BRIAND (*rising and speaking in French*).

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: —

When my country received the invitation from the President of the Republic of the United States to be represented at this Conference, it promptly replied, "Present." In so doing, France was actuated primarily by the sentiments of gratitude, henceforth imperishable, which exist between my country and the Republic of the United States; she was likewise prompted by her own aspirations for peace and

her ardent desire to join in every act that might assure, strengthen, and, in so far as possible, render it final.

Having won the war together, we could not turn a deaf ear to a summons to contribute our efforts to an endeavor to secure a lasting peace. In this Conference, France occupies a special position which our friends of America have been good enough to recognize; but, however burdensome may be the anxieties which continue to weigh upon her, however alarming may still be the dangers surrounding her, France wishes with all her might, with all her heart, to work out with you the means of limiting costly armaments. In this respect she has already accomplished much; we shall have occasion, during the course of this Conference, to make known our efforts in this direction. But she is disposed to continue along this line to the very end.

At no period of their history have the people of France been inspired by sentiments of imperialism or conquest. For fifty years France has remained faithful to peace, and, despite the cruel wound she carried in her side, inflicted under flagrant conditions of injustice which you know well, in all circumstances she has turned a deaf ear to every challenge, to every provocation; and each time that it has been possible for her to insure peace through arbitration she has generously offered to do so.

On the morrow of a terrible struggle — and France knows better than any other nation what it costs to carry on such a war, for she has seen on her soil the dreadful tragedy of allied peoples shedding their blood upon the same battlefield — I believe I can say that she feels, more than any other country, the horror of war and the love of peace.

If she is afforded the opportunity of obtaining the security which she has the right to demand, in order that peace may be assured, and if at the same time she is called upon

to sacrifice some of her armament in order to secure that peace, France is ready to consent to these sacrifices. This is a question which we will take up with our friends in the Conference. Face to face, we will talk to each other with open hearts; we will make known our respective positions; we will state what we have done to lessen the military burden which weighs so heavily upon the peoples of the world. France is here for that. I thank you for having invited her. That is proof that you have not doubted her sentiments and that, in spite of certain poisonous propaganda, you have never believed she was the enemy of peace. She has defended her liberty; the traditions of her past permit me to say that she has defended the liberty of the world. But if to-morrow her safety be assured, France is ready to say: "Arms down!" (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). May we have the pleasure of hearing from the Japanese Delegation?

DELEGATES. Japan! Japan!

PRINCE TOKUGAWA (*speaking in English*). With your permission I shall say a few words.

The Japanese Delegation is happy to feel that the Presidency of this important Conference has now been placed in the hands of a statesman who enjoys the respect and confidence of the whole civilized world.

All humanity is interested in the great purpose for which this meeting has been called. We are here to compose difficulties, not to create them. We mean seriously to promote true and honest friendship among nations, not to impair it. (*Applause*) We propose, not to prescribe terms or to dictate a constitution to a doubting world, but to carry out the plain dictates of common sense. (*Applause*)

The world needs peace. It calls for political and eco-

nomic stability. And to coöperate with the powers here so worthily represented for the accomplishment of such a lofty end, under the guidance of the distinguished presiding officer, will be for Japan a source of greatest pleasure.

(*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). Before we shall have the pleasure of listening to Senator Schanzer for the Italian Government, will you permit the interpreter to present in French the very excellent remarks of the representative of Japan?

INTERPRETER. M. le Président, avec votre permission, je voudrais dire quelques paroles.

La délégation japonaise est heureuse que la présidence de cette importante conférence ait été mise entre les mains d'un homme d'État qui jouit du respect et de la confiance de tout l'univers civilisé. Toute l'humanité s'intéresse aux grands desseins pour lesquels cette Conférence a été convoquée. Nous sommes ici pour surmonter les difficultés et non pas pour en créer. Nous voulons sérieusement établir l'amitié fidèle et honnête entre les nations, et non pas la compromettre. Nous proposons, non pas de dicter des conditions ou une constitution à un monde sceptique, mais de mettre à execution les données évidentes du bon sens. L'univers a besoin de paix; il réclame la stabilité politique et économique. Coopérer avec les puissances si dignement représentées ici à l'accomplissement de desseins aussi élevés, sous la direction de notre distingué président, sera pour le Japon la source d'un très grand plaisir.

The French should be omitted in the reading lesson. It is included here merely to emphasize the translation which took place through the Conference.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). Senator Schanzer, of Italy, we should like to hear from you.

SENATOR SCHANZER (*speaking in English*).

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Conference: —

May I be allowed to express in the name of the Italian delegation the sentiments of great pleasure and satisfaction with which we have listened to the noble speech of the Chief of this great Republic and to the highly interesting and most important statements made by yourself, Mr. Chairman?

We have heard the voice of a great people appealing to the other peoples for a work of civilization and human progress. I am happy to state that Italy can accept without reservation the great lines of your program and the spirit by which it is inspired. The convocation of the Conference, which has in view the high ideal of creating a solid foundation for the maintenance of peace in the world, has found in Italy the most favorable and sympathetic reception.

Italy did not provoke the war, but entered the war when justice and historical necessity required it. She has fought strenuously by the side of the allied and associated nations to victory, notwithstanding the most cruel sacrifice of life and wealth. To-day, Italy is one of the very first elements of peace. She has nothing to ask of anybody and nothing to fear. She has no reason for conflict with other peoples, and wishes only to proceed along the way of her economic and financial reconstruction, in harmony with the interests of other nations and safeguarding the prestige of the Italian name in the world.

Italy has no imperialistic aspirations of any kind, even though she is conscious of her glorious past and of her mission of civilization for the future. Owing to her traditions, to the political doctrines of her most eminent writers and

thinkers, and to the mental and moral character of her people, Italy feels capable of coöperating and stands ready to coöperate loyally and effectively toward the realization of the ideals which you, Mr. Chairman, propose to attain in this Conference, and to make her contribution to whatever measure may be considered useful to guarantee the world against the dangers of war.

No war, no matter how far removed from our boundaries, can leave us indifferent, either for ethical reasons or for economic reasons. A new war would be even more frightful than the great war from which we have just emerged. And a new war, in whatever part of the world, would be an unparalleled economic disaster for all peoples. The economic consequences of such a war on industries and food supplies of all countries, even those not belligerents, might mean the unemployment of millions upon millions of men, the misery and hunger of entire populations. We are, therefore, strongly in favor of putting an end to the competition of armaments — in which lies the greatest danger of war — and we have clearly expressed ourselves to that effect in the past. In fact, we have done more than this, by actually reducing our land and navy armaments in the greatest possible measure, without waiting for international agreements.

The history of the United States for the last fifty years offers to other peoples a great example of the possibility of maintaining permanent peace among millions and millions of men gathered into numerous sovereign states and spread over a vast territory which is in itself an entire world. It offers an example of the wisdom of aspiring to an international order in which conflicts are settled through the peaceful means of discussion and of right, rather than through violence.

Yesterday we all honored the remains of the American Unknown Soldier. If, as we firmly believe, the Conference

will attain favorable results, the brave American soldiers and their innumerable companions in glory from the allied nations who fell for liberty and justice will not have given their noble blood in vain.

Mr. Chairman, you know the traditional sentiments of sincere friendship and admiration of the Italian people for the great American people and for you. We bring to you the respectful and cordial greetings of Italy and of the Italian Government and the most fervent good wishes for the success of the Conference.

In conclusion, I will assure you that Italy will not be second to any other nation in working with diligence and faith to the end that the purpose which inspires you to call us to this solemn assembly may achieve a full triumph. We desire to work energetically and rapidly, but we do not feel at all impatient and are ready to remain here as long as is necessary for the accomplishment of our common task in the interest of the countries here represented and of the entire human race, anxious as it is for peace, security, and civil progress. (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). I am sure that I may speak for all delegates in saying that it would give us the greatest pleasure to hear from the representatives of the powers that have been invited to take part in a discussion of Far Eastern problems, and first to hear from the representative of the King of the Belgians. (*Applause*)

BARON DE CARTIER (*speaking in English*). Mr. Chairman, my words will be few and brief. Belgium with all her heart is in favor of the adoption of all measures that tend to insure the blessings of peace — but peace with honor. (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). May we hear from the representative of the Republic of China?

MR. SZE (*speaking in English*). Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: —

The Chinese Government desires to record its gratification that this meeting of the nations has been called. It is convinced that the present is an auspicious time for bringing into accord the political and economic interests of the powers in the Pacific. That the invitation to participate in this gathering should have come from the great American nation and that the sessions are to be held in its capital city is a source of additional gratification to the Chinese people. They and their Government will cordially coöperate in bringing to successful conclusion the work of the Conference.

We are all anxious that results beneficial to the world shall crown the work of this Conference. Mr. Chairman, with you guiding the meetings of the Conference, we feel confident that this end will be reached.

(*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). May we now have the pleasure of hearing from the representative of the Netherlands?

JONKHEER VAN KARNEBEEK (*speaking in English*). Mr. Secretary, I am glad to have the honor to say a few words, because I want to take this opportunity to thank the American Government in the name of the Dutch people for the invitation which has been extended to my Government, the Government of which I have the honor of being a member, to partici-

pate in the deliberations of this Conference on the subject of Pacific questions. My country is conscious of the honor which the United States has done her and we have appreciated it very much. We have also understood the limitation which the invitation contains. Holland is no longer a military factor in the world's politics and it does not pretend to be. It is a country where the two great peace conferences of 1899 and 1907 have been held, and although we feel that the well-known words which are written under the coat-of-arms of the House of Orange, "I will maintain," apply equally to our colonial empire, this country has always been making for peace and international coöperation, and I can assure you, Mr. Chairman, if there is a country where the hearts of the people now beat not only with hope but also with confidence, it is Holland.

As to the Pacific questions, Mr. Secretary, we have been for more than three centuries in the Pacific, and to-day still exercise in those regions territorial and sovereign rights over an extensive area and fifty millions of people, and have the responsibility for their welfare. It is enough to show you, Mr. Secretary, the depth of the interest we have in these deliberations. Now, if in a modest way, by suggestion or any other fitting method, we can be of use to this Conference, we shall be glad to do so. And let me now tell you in terminating that the heart and spirit of my country are open to the great initiative of the United States of America; and that my country will be happy if we succeed in bringing about great and fruitful results

which Holland will gladly support. (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). May we now hear from the representative of Portugal?

VISCOUNT D' ALTE (*speaking in English*). Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference: —

I can say no more than to express the deep sympathy that the nation I represent has in the laudable objects that have brought this Conference together. There is but one foe to the full achievement of these objects: national egotism. Should national egotism tend to lead us astray, let us remember that great as is the power of the governments of the world that we represent, far greater still is that of the submerged millions whose every feeling was outraged by the intolerable anguish suffered during the Great War, and who will call us strictly to account should we fail through our deliberations to lead them at least one step nearer to a state of enduring peace.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). What is your further pleasure, gentlemen?

SENATOR LODGE. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Senator Lodge.

SENATOR LODGE. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Conference do now adjourn until Tuesday at eleven o'clock in this hall.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). Is that agreeable to the delegates? (*After a pause*) I hear no dissent. The meeting stands adjourned until Tuesday, November 15, at eleven o'clock, in this hall.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

SECOND PLENARY SESSION

TIME: — November 15, 1921
PLACE: — Continental Memorial Hall

CHARACTERS

SECRETARY HUGHES — ADMIRAL KATO
SIR A. J. BALFOUR — SENATOR SCHANZER
PREMIER BRIAND

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this session.

CHAIRMAN (*raps on the desk with his gavel, and rises*). Gentlemen of the Conference: —

I wish to announce the formation of the two Committees of the Whole. One is made up of the representatives of the Five Powers, United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Italy, who are to discuss the question of armaments, and the other is a committee of the representatives of all nine nations, who will investigate Far Eastern problems. These committees will consider in private all matters concerning these two questions and report the results of the conferences to the plenary sessions. (*After a pause*) I hear no dissent, so the plan is approved. (*After a pause*) Mr. Balfour. (*Chairman sits*)

Mr. Balfour takes the floor amid a round of applause. He holds a few crumpled sheets in his hand to which he rarely refers.

MR. BALFOUR.

Mr. Chairman: You have invited those who desire to continue the discussion which began on Saturday last. I think it would be very unfortunate if we were to allow the events of Saturday to pass without some further observation on the part of those to whom you, Mr. Chairman, addressed your speech; and if, for any reason which I shall venture to explain in a moment, I am the first to take up the challenge, it is because of all the powers here assembled the country which I represent is, as everybody knows, the most intimately interested in naval questions.

Statesmen of all countries are beginning to discover that the labors and difficulties of peace are almost as arduous and require almost as great qualities as those which are demanded for the conduct of a successful war.

The struggle to restore the world to the condition of equilibrium, so violently interfered with by five years of war, is one that taxes and must tax the efforts of everybody. And I congratulate you, if I may, Mr. Chairman, on the fact that you have added the new anniversary, which will henceforth be celebrated only in connection with this movement toward reconstruction, in the same spirit in which we welcomed the anniversary celebrated only a few hours ago, on the day on which hostilities came to an end. If the eleventh of November in the minds of the allied and associated powers — in the minds perhaps not less of all the neutrals — if that is a date imprinted on grateful hearts, I think the twelfth of November will also be an anniversary welcomed and thought of in a grateful spirit by those who in the future shall look back upon the arduous struggle now being made by the civilized nations of the world, not merely to restore pre-war conditions, but to see that war conditions shall never again exist.

I count myself among the fortunate of the earth in that I was present, and to that extent had a share in the proceedings of last Saturday. They were memorable, indeed. The secret was admirably kept. I hope that all the secrets, so long as they ought to be secrets, of our discussions, will be as well kept. In my less sanguine mood I have doubts. But, however that may be, the secret in this case was most admirably kept, and I listened to a speech which I thought eloquent, appropriate, in every way a fitting prelude to the work of the Conference which was about to open, or which, indeed, had been opened by the President, without supposing that anything very dramatic lay behind. And suddenly I became aware — as I suppose all present became aware — that we were assisting not merely at an eloquent and admirable speech, but at a great historical event. It was led up to with such art, the transition seemed so natural, that when the blow fell, when the speaker uttered the memorable words which have now gone round and found echo in every quarter of the civilized world, it came as a shock of profound surprise; it excited the sort of emotions we have when some wholly new event springs into view, and we felt that a new chapter in the history of world reconstruction had been warily opened.

Mr. Chairman, the absolute simplicity of the procedure, the easy transition, and the great dramatic climax were the perfection of art, which shows that the highest art and the most perfect simplicity are very often, indeed very commonly, combined.

Now, I said I would explain, if I were allowed, why I venture to rise first to-day to deal with the subject which is in all our hearts. As I have hinted, it is because the British Empire and Great Britain, these two together, are more profoundly concerned with all that touches matters naval than it is possible for any other nation to be, and

this not, believe me, for any reasons of ambition, not for any reasons drawn from history or tradition, but from the hard, brutal necessities and claims of obvious facts.

There never has been in the history of the world a great empire constituted as the British Empire is. It is a fact no doubt familiar to everybody whom I am addressing at the present moment, but has everybody whom I am addressing imaginatively conceived precisely what the situation of the British Empire is in this connection?

Most of my audience are citizens of the United States. The United States stands solid, impregnable, self-sufficient, all its lines of communication protected, doubly protected, completely protected from any conceivable hostile act. It is not merely that you are 110,000,000 of population; it is not that you are the wealthiest country in the world; it is that the whole configuration of your country, the geographical position of your country, is such that you are wholly immune from the particular perils to which, from the nature of the case, the British Empire is subjected.

Supposing, for example, that your western states, for whose safety you are responsible, were suddenly removed 10,000 miles across the sea. Supposing that you found that the very heart of your empire, the very heart of this great State, was a small, a crowded island, depending on over-sea trade not merely, not chiefly, for its luxuries, but depending upon over-sea communication for the raw material of those manufactures by which its superabundant population lives; depending upon the same over-sea communication for the food upon which it subsists. Supposing it was a familiar thought in your minds that there never was at any moment of the year within the limits of your State more than seven weeks' food for the population, and that that food had to be replenished by over-sea communication. Then, if you will draw that picture, and if you will see all that it implies and

all that it carries with it, you will understand why it is that every citizen of the British Empire, whether he comes from the far dominions of the Pacific or whether he lives in the small island in the North Sea, never can forget that it is by sea communication that he lives and that without sea communication he and the empire to which he belongs would perish.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, do not suppose that I am uttering laments over the weakness of my empire. Far from it. We are strong, I hope, in the vigorous life of its constituent parts. We are strong, I hope, in the ardent patriotism which binds us all together. But this strategic weakness is obvious to everybody who reflects; it is present in the minds of our enemies, if we have enemies. Do not let it be forgotten by our friends.

These reflections, with your kindness, I have indulged in in order to explain why it is that I am addressing you at the present time. We have had to consider, and we have considered, the great scheme laid before you by our Chairman. We have considered it with admiration and approval. We agree with it in spirit and in principle. We look to it as being the basis of the greatest reform in the matter of armament and preparation for war that has ever been conceived or carried out by the courage and patriotism of statesmen. (*Applause*) I do not pretend, of course, — it would be folly to pretend, — that this or any other scheme, by whatever genius it may have been contrived, can deal with every subject; can cover the whole ground of international reconstruction. It would be folly to make the attempt and it would be folly to pretend that the attempt has yet been made in any single scheme, as was clearly explained by the Secretary of State on Saturday. The scheme deals, and deals only, with three nations which own the largest fleets at present in the world. It therefore, of

necessity, omits all consideration for the time being of those European nations who have diminished their fleets, and who at present have no desire, and I hope never will have any desire, to own fleets beyond the necessities that national honor and national defense require.

Again, it does not touch a question which every man coming from Europe must feel to be a question of immense and almost paramount importance. I mean the heavy burden of land armaments. That is left on one side, to be dealt with by other schemes and in other ways.

What it does is surely one of the biggest things that have ever yet been done by constructive statesmanship. It does deal with the three great fleets of the world, and in the broad spirit in which it deals with those fleets, in the proportion of disarmament which it lays down for those fleets, the Government of the country which I represent is in the fullest and the heartiest sympathy with the policy which the United States has brought before us for our consideration. (*Applause*) They have, as we think most rightly, taken the battle fleet as the aggressive unit which they have in the main to consider; and in the battle fleet you must include those auxiliary ships without which a modern battle fleet has neither eyes nor ears, has little power of defense against certain forms of attack, and little power of observation; little power of dealing with any equal foe to which it may be opposed

Taking those two as really belonging to one subject, namely, the battle fleet — taking those two, the battleships themselves and the vessels auxiliary and necessary to a battle fleet, we think that the proportion between these various countries is acceptable, we think the limitation of amounts is reasonable; we think it should be accepted, we firmly believe that it will be accepted.

In my view, the message which was sent around the

world on Saturday is not a message which is going to be received by those most concerned with cool approbation. I believe it is going to be received by them with warm, hearty approval, and with every effort at full, loyal, and complete coöperation.

I have little more to say except this: It is easy to estimate in dollars or in pounds, shillings, and pence the saving to the taxpayer of each of the nations concerned, which the adoption of this scheme will give. It is easy to show that the relief is great. It is easy to show that indirectly it will, as I hope and believe, greatly stimulate industry, national and international, and do much to diminish the difficulties under which every civilized government is at this time laboring. All that can be weighed, measured, counted; all that is a matter of figures. But there is something which goes to the root; which is concerned with the highest international morality.

This scheme, after all — what does it do? It makes idealism a practical proposition. It takes hold of the dream which reformers, poets, publicists, even potentates, as we heard the other day, have from time to time put before mankind as the goal to which human endeavor should aspire.

A narrative of all the attempts made, of all the schemes advanced, for diminishing the sorrows of war, is a melancholy one. Some fragments were laid before you by our Chairman on Saturday. They were not exhilarating. They showed how easy it is to make professions and how difficult it is to carry those professions into effect.

What makes this scheme a landmark is that, combined with the profession is the practice, that in addition to the expression, the eloquent expression of good intentions, in which the speeches of men of all nations have been rich, a way has been found in which, in the most striking fashion,

in a manner which must touch the imagination of everybody, which must come home to the dullest brain and the hardest heart, the Government of the United States has shown its intention not merely to say that peace is a very good thing, that war is horrible, but that there is a way by which wars can really be diminished, by which the burdens of peace, almost as intolerable as the burdens of war, can really be lightened for the populations of the world. And in doing that, in doing it in the manner in which they have done it, in striking the imagination not merely of the audience they were addressing, not merely of the great people to whom they belonged, but of the whole civilized world — in doing that they have, believe me, made the first and opening day of this Congress one of the landmarks in human civilization.

I have said all that I propose to say, but if you will allow me I will read a telegram put into my hands just as I reached this meeting, this Congress, from the British Prime Minister:

Following for Mr. Balfour from Mr. Lloyd George: —

Many thanks for your telegram. If you think it will serve useful purpose to let them know, message might be published, as follows:

Government has followed proceedings at opening session of Conference with profound appreciation, and wholeheartedly indorses your opinion that speeches made by President Harding and Secretary of State were bold and statesmanlike utterances, pregnant with infinite possibilities. Nothing could augur better for ultimate success of Conference. Please convey to both our most sincere congratulations. (*Applause*)

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). Admiral Baron Kato of the Japanese Delegation.

ADMIRAL KATO (*speaking in Japanese*).

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen of the Conference: —

Japan deeply appreciates the sincerity of purpose evident in the plan of the American Government for the limitation of armaments. She is satisfied that the proposed plan will materially relieve the nations of wasteful expenditures and cannot fail to make for the peace of the world.

She cannot remain unmoved by the high aims which have actuated the American project. Gladly accepting, therefore, the proposal in principle, Japan is ready to proceed with determination to a sweeping reduction in her naval armament.

It will be universally admitted that a nation must be provided with such armaments as are essential to its security. This requirement must be fully weighed in the examination of the plan. With this requirement in view, certain modifications will be proposed with regard to the tonnage basis for replacement of the various classes of vessels. This subject should be referred to special consideration by naval experts. When such modifications are proposed, I know that the American and other delegations will consider them with the same desire to meet our ideas as we have to meet theirs.

Japan has never claimed or had any intention of claiming to have a general establishment equal in strength to that of either the United States or the British Empire. Her existing plan will show conclusively that she never had in view preparations for offensive war.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). Senator Schanzer, Delegate from Italy.

SENATOR SCHANZER (*speaking in English*).

Mr. Chairman, Gentlemen: —

The time has come and this Conference has been called, not for general resolutions and for mutual advice, but for action. You proved at once that you mean to carry out your suggestions into practical execution.

The first impression made by your statement concerning the limitation of naval armament is one of great sincerity, great force, great courage. You stated clearly and unhesitatingly to the Conference and to the public opinion of the entire world the question of the limitation of naval armament as concerns especially the great naval powers, and you did it with precision of facts and of figures, thus affording a solid basis for discussion.

We shall not consider the technical side of the question, which concerns especially the great naval powers. We only wish to express in the name of the Italian delegation our great satisfaction in the proposals of general order. We hope that your proposal when accepted will be the source of the most beneficent economic consequences. The peace of the world cannot be permanently maintained if you do not consider the ways and means to reëstablish the economic balance of the world.

Modern civilization is an economic civilization, and the modern world, in spite of the distance and natural barriers, cannot be conceived except as a single great economic system. This economic system has been shattered by the war. It is necessary now to revise it and get it into motion again.

We think that your proposal is the first effective step toward giving the world a release of such nature as to enable it to start the work of its economic reconstruction.

In respect to Mr. Balfour's reference to the question of French and Italian naval forces, may I be allowed to say a few words?

I think it rather difficult to separate the question of Italian and French naval-armament limitation from the general question of the limitation of naval armaments of the world. Certainly, as you have stated, Mr. Chairman, in your address, the question concerning the great naval powers must be considered in the first place, and you have stated that the United States proposes that this matter be left for the later consideration of the Conference. So we wish and feel sure in accordance with your statement that the French and Italian naval question will be considered by the Conference before concluding the question involved in your proposal.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I express in the name of the Italian delegation the most fervent wish that the Conference, taking your proposal as its working basis, may lead to a result which would be extremely happy not only for the powers directly interested but for the entire world.

CHAIRMAN (*seated*). May we now hear from Premier Briand of the French Delegation?

Great applause from the audience as Premier Briand steps before them.

PREMIER BRIAND (*speaking in French*).

Mr. Chairman:—

I fully concur with what the President of the British delegation has just said, when at the beginning of his eloquent statement he said that this Conference would be one of the great landmarks in the history of the world, and of civilization. While I do not quite agree with him, at least not to the same extent, as to his feelings, as expressed, when he first heard the statement made by the representative of the United States, I may say, for my own part, that when coming here I felt quite sure that a great people like the United States could not have begun such a momentous

initiative without having some definite, clear-cut purpose. I think, gentlemen, that we have no longer the right in those questions of peace and war — when we undertake to promise to the world that there shall be no more war; that there shall be everlasting peace after the painful struggle from which we have just emerged — we have no right to let the people of the world hope for a final peace unless we have made up our minds to prepare and to decide upon the means that are most appropriate in order to realize these hopes.

Many conferences and congresses have already met in order to try to carry out this noble idea, and Mr. Balfour was quite right when he pointed out the great danger there was in looking at this question through the glass of idealism. But, Mr. Secretary, you have shown us the way; you have shown that it was no longer a question of groping for a way out of the difficulty; you have struck out boldly the opportunity for us by setting the example. I may say that we are back of you, Mr. Secretary.

Of course, during these difficult, arduous examinations of the details of the subject, upon which, after all, depends the practical realization, if it happens that we are taken out of the straight way and feel the temptation of using the devious paths, we, on the part of France, are ready to join our efforts to those of other men of good will and help in returning to the fair, straight road that would take us to our goal.

The question with which we have first to deal here is, of course, one that mainly concerns the great naval powers; but I may say for my part that I have listened with great joy to the very large, broad, and general adhesion given in principle by the Governments of Great Britain and Japan. It is not that France feels entirely disinterested in this question. We shall have, I hope, an opportunity of saying

this and showing it; but I may say now — and this will be carried out later on by figures and by demonstration — that we have already entered upon the right way, and that we have already done something in the direction you indicate. The war has kept us down to a certain level, of course. It has prevented us from carrying out our plans for a weak fleet, perhaps too weak for the necessities of national defense.

But I will not dwell on this subject. I rather turn to another side of the problem to which Mr. Balfour has alluded, and I thank him for this. Is it only a question here of economy? Is it only a question of estimates and budgets? If it were so, if that were the only purpose you have in view, it would be really unworthy of the great nation that has called us here.

So, the main question, the crucial question, which is to be discussed here is to know whether or not the peoples of the world will be at last able to come to an understanding in order to avoid the atrocities of war. And then, gentlemen, when it comes on the agenda, as it will inevitably come, to the question of land armament, a question particularly delicate for France, as you are all aware, we have no intention to eschew this. We shall answer your appeal, fully conscious that this is a question of grave and serious nature for us.

The question will be raised — it has been raised, gentlemen — and if there is a country that desires, that demands, that the question of land armaments should be raised, it is France. It will come in due time before the Conference, and I hope that I shall enjoy the opportunity and that I shall be able to state publicly in one of the meetings of this Conference what the position of France is, so that the United States and the world may fully know; and when I have tried to prove this, when you have listened to this

demonstration, I am quite sure that you will be convinced, gentlemen, that France, after the necessities of safety and life have been adequately secured, harbors no thought whatever of disturbing the peace of the world. The time will come for this demonstration.

To-day I shall simply record, with great feelings of joy, the agreement that has already been reached here on this first great problem of the Conference, and express the wish that we may come to a similar agreement upon all the other questions that await us.

Mr. Hughes (*rising*). Gentlemen: — We have listened not only with gratification, but I may say with profound emotion, to these expressions, so cordial, of agreement in principle with the proposal that has been made on behalf of the United States with respect to the limitation of naval armament. It will now be in order to consider the details which must be associated with an exact agreement for that purpose.

There are subjects, it has been suggested here, which will appropriately be examined by naval experts, and it is the desire of the American Government that what has been proposed by that Government, with the suggestions that have been made by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government, by Admiral Kato on behalf of the Government of Japan, and any other suggestions by way of modification or emendation or criticism that may be proper, shall all be thoroughly considered, to the end that after the most mature and careful deliberation we may accomplish the great purpose which this Conference in this matter has been assembled to achieve.

But while the time is now opportune for the consideration of these details, the great first step has been taken in this notable expression of approval in principle of what has been suggested by the American Government. And do I go too far in saying that we may commit this matter to a technical examination with the assurance, which I am very certain will be gratifying to the hearts of our people, that there will come out of this Conference an appropriate agreement for satisfactory, important, essential reduction of naval armament, to the end that offensive naval warfare shall be no more, and this great advance will be made to the accomplishment of an enduring peace?

If it is not desired to have further discussion of the matter which has been brought before us, I suppose it will be in order to adjourn to give opportunity for the consideration of the project to which I have referred. And may I add, I have no doubt that I express the wish of the Conference that, at an opportune time, Mr. Briand may enjoy the opportunity of presenting to the Conference most fully the views of France with regard to the subject of land armaments, which we must discuss. What is your further pleasure, gentlemen?

MR. BRIAND (*speaking in French*). Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Briand.

MR. BRIAND. Mr. Chairman, I move that the Conference adjourn subject to the call of the Chair.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). Is that agreeable to the delegates? (*After a pause*) I hear no dissent. The meeting stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

THIRD PLENARY SESSION

TIME: — November 21, 1921
PLACE: — Continental Memorial Hall

CHARACTERS

SECRETARY HUGHES	SENATOR SCHANZER
PREMIER BRIAND	BARON KATO
SIR A. J. BALFOUR	BARON DE CARTIER

ELIHU ROOT

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this session. Secretary Hughes calls the Conference to order by rapping on the desk with his gavel.

SECRETARY HUGHES (*rising*). It is a pleasure to be able to state that gratifying progress has been made in the work of the Conference. The proposals of the American Government with respect to the limitation of naval armament have been under consideration by the committee of the plenipotentiary delegates of the Five Powers, and, aided by a subcommittee of naval experts, that matter is progressing favorably.

You will recall the appointment of a committee consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the Nine Powers to consider questions relating to the Pacific and the Far East. In the course of the delib-

erations of that committee most important declarations have been made on behalf of the represented countries, and, while there is nothing at the moment to report to the plenary session with respect to either of these topics, I think I am justified in saying that our expectations with respect to the expedition and thoroughness of our consideration on these matters have already been more than realized.

There remains another subject which so far has not engaged our attention, and that is the subject of land armament or military forces.

So far as the army of the United States is concerned, no question is presented. It has always been the policy of the United States (it is its traditional policy) to have the regular military establishment upon the smallest possible basis. At the time of the Armistice there were in the field and in training in the American army upward of 4,200,000 men. At once, upon the signing of the Armistice, demobilization began and it was practically completed in the course of the following year, and to-day our regular establishment numbers less than 160,000 men.

While, however, we have this gratifying condition with respect to the military forces in the United States, we fully recognize the special difficulties that exist with respect to military forces abroad. We fully understand the apprehensions that exist, their bases and also the essential conditions of national security which must appeal to all the powers that are here represented.

It is regarded as fitting at this time that there

should be the freest opportunity for the presentation of views upon this subject of land armament or military forces by the delegates present; and it is the wish of all delegates that full explanation of all the conditions that bear upon the matter should be had, and that all the delegates of the governments represented here should have opportunity to present fully the matters which they think should be understood by the Conference and the world. (*Chairman sits*)

PREMIER BRIAND (*speaking in French*). Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Premier Briand.

PREMIER BRIAND.

Gentlemen, you will readily admit that I, as a delegate of France, should feel moved when rising to speak from this full-sounding platform, whence every word that is said goes to the attentive and anxious ear of the world and of all civilized people.

I wish, first of all, to thank my colleagues of the Conference who, on the opening of this public meeting, so kindly allowed me to speak as the representative of my country.

I shall endeavor to make my country appear to your eyes and to the eyes of the world with her true genuine face, as she is; that will show you that she is ready, and I might say perhaps more ready than any other country, to direct her attention and her earnest will to whatever steps may be thought desirable in order to ensure final peace for the world. Nothing for my colleagues and myself would be more pleasant than to be about to tell you this: We bring here sacrifices to the fullest extent possible. We have our own security ensured. We lay down arms.

We should be so happy to be able to make that gesture

in order to participate in the final disarmament of the world.

Unfortunately, we cannot speak in this way. I say also, unfortunately, we have not the right to do so. I shall briefly explain later on for what reasons. I shall tell you, for France, that she wants to make peace. If you want to make peace there must be two people, yourself and the neighbor opposite. To make peace — I am speaking, of course, of land armament — it is not sufficient to reduce effectives and decrease war material. That is the physical side, a physical aspect of things.

There is another consideration which we have no right to neglect in such a problem, which touches vital questions that are of the most serious character for the country concerned. It is necessary that besides this physical disarmament there should be in those same circles what I shall call a general atmosphere of peace. In other words, a moral disarmament is as necessary as the material one.

I have the right to say this, and I hope to be able to prove it to you. And I have the right to say to you that in Europe, as it is at present, there are serious elements of instability, there are such conditions prevailing that France is obliged to face them and to contemplate the necessary matters from the point of view of her own security.

I am now staying in a country many of the men of which have already enjoyed the opportunity of seeing France and knowing exactly what she is. They came to us in the most critical time of the war. They came and shed their blood — mingled their blood — with ours, and they shared our life, and they have seen France and they know what France is. And certainly these men have contributed to enlighten their own countrymen, and they have done everything to dispel and drive away those noxious gases which have been spread about and under which certain people have been trying to mask and to conceal the true face of France.

Here in this country you are living among States which do not know the entangled barriers and frontiers of Europe. Here you live in an immense expanse of space. You do not know any factions in your own land. You have nothing to fear. So that it is rather difficult for some of you — it must be difficult for some of you — to realize what are the conditions at present prevailing in Europe, after war and after victory.

I quite admit that every citizen of the United States might come and tell me this: "The war is won. Peace is signed. Germany has reduced her army to a great extent. Most of her war material has been destroyed. What is it that prevents peace from now reigning in Europe? Why is it that France keeps such a considerable army, abundantly provided with war material?"

Of course, while saying only this, certain people have something more in the back of their minds. They suggest that France also has some hidden thought — some hidden design. It has been said that France wanted to install in Europe a sort of military supremacy, and what, after all, she wanted to do was simply to take the place Germany occupied before the war.

Gentlemen, perhaps this is the most painful, heart-rending, and cruel thing that a Frenchman can hear.

And for them to say it after the direful war from which we have just emerged, — unprovoked war which we had to undergo, — to be again in the cruel necessity to give to the world only the appearance that we have perfidious intentions and military design — this, gentlemen, constitutes, I may say, the most disheartening thing for us.

Those who know my country — they can testify that not one word of it is true. If there is a country that has deliberately turned her steps toward peace, that wants peace with all her heart, believes in it with her entire faith

— if there is a country that does this, gentlemen, it is France.

Since the Armistice we have had many disappointments. France has had to wait for certain realizations which she has not been able to get. She has seen Germany digress — haggle over the signature which had been given. Germany has refused to stand by her pledged word. She has refused to pay compensation due for the devastated regions. She has declined to make the gesture of chastisement that, after all, every man of sense would expect after the horrors that we have witnessed. Germany has refused to disarm.

At that time France was strong and Germany could not resist. Public opinion in France was naturally impatient, while under this provocation France remained perfectly cool. There was not one gesture on her part to aggravate the situation. I may say here emphatically in the face of the world, we have no hatred in our hearts, and France will do everything she can. She will use every means to prevent between Germany and herself a recurrence of these bloody conflicts. She wishes for nothing else but that the two peoples should be able to live side by side in the normal conditions of peace.

But, after all, we have no right to forget. We have no right to abandon ourselves. We have no right to weaken our position — were it only because we must avoid giving rise, in the bosom that would only be too ready to take advantage of it, to certain hopes that would be encouraged by our weakness.

Gentlemen, I spoke a few moments ago of the moral aspect of disarmament, and I referred in my remarks to Germany. I do not want to be unjust; nothing is further from my mind. But we know there is in Germany — and yet there is one part of Germany that is for peace. There are many people, especially among the working classes, who

want to work, who have had enough of this war, who have had enough of war altogether and are most anxious to settle down in peace, and also to set to work. We shall do everything to help that Germany, and if she wants to restore her balance in the bosom of a pacific republic and democratic institutions, then we can help her, and we shall all be able to contemplate the future with feelings of security.

But, gentlemen, there is another Germany, a Germany which has not changed her mind and to which the last war has taught no lesson. That Germany keeps thoughts in the back of her mind; she has the same designs which she entertained before the war; she has kept the same preoccupations and she cherishes the same ambitions that the Hohenzollerns did. And how can we close our eyes to this? How can we ignore this state of things? This, gentlemen, is happening at our very doors; we have only got to look. This is happening but a few miles from us, and we follow the thoughts of the Germans, or certain Germans, and the evolution which is taking place. And more than that, we have witnessed certain attempts to return to the old state of things.

Gentlemen, a volume has been published by no less a man than Field-Marshal Ludendorff, who still enjoys great authority in many German circles, and who is followed by a great part of the élite of Germany — professors, philosophers and writers. What do we read in this book? Gentlemen, I should not like to make too many quotations. I should not like to prolong this speech, and perhaps draw too much of your attention; but this is part of my brief, and if you are, like me, convinced that the moral element is of the utmost importance, you will allow me to read just two or three passages. This is the first quotation: —

"It is necessary that we should learn to understand that

we live in a warlike time; that struggle will remain forever, for the single individual as for the State, a natural phenomenon."

In the same book Marshal Ludendorff produces these terrible words of von Moltke on the eleventh of December, 1919: —

"Eternal peace is a dream. It is not even a beautiful dream. War is one of the parts of the order of the world, such as it has been created by God. It is by war that are developed the noblest virtues of man, courage, disinterestedness, devotion to duty, and the spirit of sacrifice, up to the abandonment of one's own life. Without war the world would sink in the morass of materialism."

And lastly, Marshal Ludendorff says this: —

"The warlike qualities of the Prussian and German army have been put to the proof on bloody battlefields. The German people need no other qualities for their moral renovation. The spirit of the former army must be the germ which will allow this renovation to take place."

Such, gentlemen, are the words used by the highest German authorities who have preserved — and I can quite understand it — the full part, the great part at least, of the confidence of the German people; and that is what we are listening to now. After a war that has caused the death of millions of men, after the sore wounds that have been inflicted and that are still bleeding in the sides of the countries of Europe, that is the sort of thing that is being taught at the very door of France. How can you expect that France should close her eyes to such words?

These are facts, gentlemen. I am not noticing them and bringing them here just to make my case better. They are facts that have been verified, and that everybody can ascertain for himself. Therefore, as a matter of fact and from the point of view of effectives, Germany can rise in a

few weeks, and perhaps almost in a few days, and can begin to raise again her 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 men with their officers; and the noncommissioned officers are ready to do the work.

Now I must ask the great people of the United States, so fond of justice, so noble in their purposes, to answer me when I ask them this: Suppose by your side, O American people, a nation which has been for years and centuries in bloody conflict with you; and suppose that this nation, you feel, is still ready, morally and materially, to enter into a new struggle. What would you do?

Would you turn away your eyes? Would you close your eyes to a danger that was threatening you? You who are said to be such a positive, such a precise people, would you close your eyes? Would you not desire to do everything in your power in order to safeguard your life, and, what is more, your honor? Would you do anything to weaken yourselves? No. There is not one citizen in the whole United States who would not answer me: "No; never in the world."

France is looking upon what is happening. France does not exaggerate. She is only watching and waiting.

I now come to the question of war material. We have been told that there was no more war material. It is true; the Commission of Control in Germany have done admirable work. A great many guns — artillery, I mean — have been destroyed. Some of the destruction has been supervised by the Allied officers. It is real.

Other destruction has taken place, as we have been told. We might have a doubt. We are not quite certain. But we must give the opponents the benefit of the doubt, and we believe the destruction on that side is practically completed.

But the problem of war material is one that can easily

be solved. You have seen, in the war, with what promptitude — and that was lucky, because if the help had not come so quickly we might have been down, finally — you have seen how quickly immense armies have come over to us, provided with the most modern material, and fought on our side upon the battlefields.

Well, what is Germany but a vast country — or industry — industrially organized? Germany always had two aims. The first was trade, commerce. And that is only natural. The second was war. All her industries, all her manufactures, have been working to the full during the war, and they have developed since.

Everything is ready in Germany — the plans, the designs, and calibre. Everything is there ready to ensure a steady manufacturing of guns, machine guns, and rifles. Suppose that during a period of diplomatic tension, purposely protracted for a number of weeks, certain of the manufacturers, certain of the works, begin to fabricate, just at the beginning, just to start the war, just to set the war going, and then go on manufacturing guns and rifles and artillery; what would happen? It is not only in Germany that industry can work to the full. You can make preparations outside. In fact, preparations have actually taken place. In fact, great captains of industry or great industrial magnates have bought important firms in Scandinavia and in other parts of Europe.

It is easy enough to fabricate these guns without our seeing it, outside of our supervision. You know very well that it is possible to build great railroads. You know very well that it is impossible to bring here the proof that Germany is actually making or purchasing war materials.

It is different from the navy. It is rather difficult to lay the keel of a ship in the stocks, to prepare the dockyards, without the world knowing it. But suppose that were pos-

sible. Do you think you could launch a capital ship without somebody being on the spot and knowing what was happening? But the guns, the rifles, the machine guns — any instruments used on the field of battle — they can be manufactured and cannot be controlled with any measure of certainty.

Ah, gentlemen, this is not the first time in history that France has had to face a situation of this kind. We have known Prussia disarmed. And disarmed by whom? By Napoleon. Well, that Prussia, which seemed practically disarmed, which was harmless to all intents and purposes, we found her again on the battlefield and we were nearly bled white. How can we forget that?

Of course, we know what is often said of the French people. It is often said that we are a frivolous nation and that naturally when the danger is past we turn our minds to other things — just as befits a frivolous people. Evidently, gentlemen, we are not the sort of men to keep our eyes steadily fixed on whatever is sad and depressing!

We have not been doing that since the war, but we have been too deeply wounded — I might almost say murdered — to forget the direful lesson which has just been taught us. Gentlemen, there are too many homes in mourning in the country, there are too many men in the streets that are disabled and maimed. Even if we wanted to forget, we could not.

Therefore we have not the right, and we do not intend, to leave France defenseless. France must, to all intents and purposes, protect herself.

Such is the situation as far as we are concerned. You will grant me, gentlemen, that it is serious enough. But that is not all. What about the rest of Europe? Apparently Europe is at peace, although here and there on the ground certain volumes of smoke just arising seem to indicate that

the fire is not extinguished everywhere. I might say that this fire is smoldering in certain parts of Europe, and if France had not had an army, war would already have broken out in Europe again.

First of all we must be able to live. That is a sort of question-mark in France. Thanks to our allies, to whom our gratitude will remain everlasting — thanks to their efforts, we have been able, all together, to ensure the life, liberty, and dignity of men; but, gentlemen, I trust you will certainly feel the weight of my argument and recognize that we are faced with a terribly serious situation.

When we say we contemplate a reduction of naval armaments, when we discuss it with ourselves, heart to heart, we could have nothing in our minds. We are speaking between friends. There is no threat of war; if there is any menace to peace it is so far distant that you can hardly conceive it, and yet you have not assumed the right of ignoring this danger altogether. You intend to keep your navies to the extent necessary to defend your liberties and ensure your life.

If you do that, gentlemen, on the sea, what shall we do when the danger is there at our doors and hanging over our heads? I may say that I have always been in favor of peace; I have assumed power for the sake of peace in very difficult conditions. While my country was feeling natural impatience at the state of things, I formally attached myself to the cause of peace. I fixed my heart on that noble task. I may say that, if ever peace is to be disturbed in the world, I shall not be the one to disturb it. But, gentlemen, precisely because I have urged everybody on the road of peace, because I have done everything in my power in order to obtain peace, I feel all the more the great weight of the responsibility which I have assumed; and if to-morrow, because I had been too optimistic, I saw my

country again attacked, trampled under foot, bleeding because I had weakened her, gentlemen, I should be a most despicable traitor.

It is that situation which we have got to take into account, gentlemen, and the weight of the responsibilities with which we are burdened.

Only the other day the course of events turned in such a way that the situation certainly became acute in Upper Silesia. Germany, that did not think the French people were ready to undertake a military operation, suddenly informed us that she was going to send the Reichswehr to the spot in Upper Silesia in order to preserve order.

Those were momentous times for us, and, although I have been through many critical times in my life, I may say that perhaps no hour was of more importance than that, and that I clearly and definitely made up my mind; and I told Germany that such a thing was not possible, and that if Germany undertook a thing of the sort she would have to bear the consequences. And the language was understood.

But, gentlemen, if I had spoken without having the French army back of me, what would my words have availed? And if the event had actually taken place, what would have become of Europe itself? Europe is still in a troublous state. It is composed of young States, newly come to life. Who could say to what such conflict might have led?

That is the problem and that was the problem, and the struggle did not take place, because it was felt that there was still a sufficient force in Europe and in France to preserve order.

Quite recently another attempt has been made, a certain attempt at the restoring of the old order of things in the center of Europe, that might have set fire to the powder

magazine again. Nothing happened, because the Allies were in perfect understanding and the incident was peaceably settled.

Gentlemen, I give you these reflections for you to ponder over. You will see that there is nothing in them that would draw us aside from the path that leads to final peace. I apologize for having been with you so long and for having so trespassed upon your attention. Perhaps at another time the President will be less inclined to allow me to speak.

The thought of reducing the armaments, which was the noble purpose of this Conference, is not one about which we would feel disinterested from the point of view of land armaments. We have shown it already. Immediately after the Armistice, demobilization began, and demobilization went on as rapidly and completely as possible. According to the military laws of France there are to be three classes of men: that is three generations of young men under the flag. That law is still extant; that law is still valid. It has not been abrogated yet, and the Government has taken the responsibility to reduce to two years the time spent under the flag, and instead of three classes — three generations of young men — we have only two undergoing military service.

It is, therefore, an immediate reduction by one third that has already taken place in the effectives — and I am speaking of the normal effectives of the metropolis, leaving aside troops needed for colonial occupation or obligation imposed by treaty in the Rhineland or other countries and plebiscites.

We do not think that endeavor was sufficient, and for the future we have plans in order to restrict further the extent of our armies. In a few days it is certain that the proposals of the Government will be passed in the Chamber, in order further to reduce the military service by half. That is to

say, there will be only one class and a half actually serving. The metropolitan French army would be, therefore, reduced by half; but if anybody asks us to go further, to consent to other reductions, I should have to answer clearly and definitely that it would be impossible for us to do it without exposing ourselves to a most serious danger.

You might possibly come and tell us, "This danger that you are exposed to — we see it, we realize it, and we are going to share it with you. We are going to offer you all means — put all means at your disposal in order to secure your safety."

Immediately, if we heard those words, of course, we should strike upon another plan. We should be only too pleased to demonstrate the sincerity of our purpose. But we understand the difficulties and the necessities of the statesmen of other countries. We understand the position of other peoples who have also to face difficult and troublous situations.

We are not selfish enough to ask other peoples to give a part of their sovereign national independence in order to turn it to our benefit and come to our help. We do not expect it; but here I am appealing to your consciences: if France is to remain alone, facing the situation such as I have described, and without any exaggeration — you must not deny her what she wants in order to ensure her security. You must let her do what she has to do, if the need arises and if the time comes.

I should be the last one to try to restrict the noble endeavors which are being made here in order to limit armament, in the Conference which has been convened with such noble purposes in view; and I should like to be able to say that I foresee no limit, no restriction, to your labors and to the results which you may achieve. Any question here can be debated and can be resolved upon, but I must

draw your attention to one thing: moral disarmament of France would be very dangerous.

Allow me to say it will be most unjust. We do not enjoy the essential conditions. We should be ready to do it, but the time has not come yet to give up our defense for the sake of final peace in Europe.

We have to know, however, that France is not morally isolated; that she still has with her the men of good will, and the hearts of all people who have fought with her on the same battlefields. The true condition of a moral disarmament in Germany — I mean to say I am referring to those noxious elements of which I have already spoken — the true condition at this time of disarmament in Germany lies in the fact that it should be known over there that France is not alone, and then I feel quite sure that the poisonous propaganda of which I have spoken will simply run up dead against the wall; that it will not be able to go through, and that nobody anywhere will believe in it.

If those who still harbor evil designs know that, and if those who entertain happy ideas of peace — this working class that wants to return to a normal state of peace — if it is known in Germany that France is not morally alone, peace will come back much quicker; and the words of anger, the words of revenge, will simply be preached in the wilderness. It will be impossible for Germany to reconstruct a defensive army; but she will be able to install democratic institutions, and then we can all hope for final conditions of peace.

Everything that France can do in this direction, she will do. In fact, she has already done much. She did not hesitate to open conversations with the German Government in order to settle this painful question of reparation for the devastated regions. Everything has been done and will be done in order to restore normal conditions, and the hour

will come when everything will be settled; but the hour has not come yet.

If by direction given to the labors of the Conference it were possible somewhere over there in Europe — if it were possible to say that the outcome of this Conference is indirect blame and opprobrium cast upon France — if it were possible to point out France as the only country in the world that is still imperialistic, as the only country that opposes final disarmament, then, gentlemen, indeed this Conference would have dealt us a severe blow; but I am quite sure that nothing is further from your minds and from your intentions.

If after listening to this argument, after weighing the reasons which you have just heard, you consider it then as valid, then, gentlemen, you will still be with us and you will agree with me and say that France cannot possibly do anything but what she has actually done. (*Applause*)

MR. BALFOUR (*speaking in English*). Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Balfour.

MR. BALFOUR.

Mr. Chairman: Evidently this is not a fitting moment to deal at length or in detail with the great speech which has just come to its conclusion. It has been your privilege, and my privilege, to hear one of the great masters of parliamentary oratory. We have heard him with admiration; we have heard him with a full measure of sympathy. We have heard something more than a great speech; we have heard a perfectly candid, perfectly lucid, perfectly unmistakable exposition of the inmost thoughts of the Prime Minister of our great ally.

He has told us, I believe without reserve, what are the anxieties, what are the preoccupations, of the country over

whose destinies he presides. He has told us what they fear and why they fear it. And nothing can be more useful, nothing can be more instructive to us of other nations, than to have this full revelation of the inner thoughts of one of our allied and associated statesmen.

We live under very different conditions from the French citizens, for whom Mr. Briand has so eloquently spoken. In the secure homes of America no terrors exist or can exist comparable to those which inevitably haunt the thoughts, waking and sleeping, of the leaders of French politics. For they have what neither you in America have nor we in England have. I do not venture to speak for the other nations represented around the table.

They have at their very doors the great country that was their enemy — great in spite of defeat, powerful in spite of losses; and of its policy, of the course which it means to pursue in the future, they necessarily remain in anxious doubt.

It is good for us all, I venture to say, from whatever nation we may be drawn, from whatever part of the great continent we come, that we should be initiated, as we have been initiated this morning, into the inner sanctuary of French policy.

It must be acknowledged, sorrowfully acknowledged, that the speech to which we have just listened is not hopeful for any immediate solution of the great problem of land armaments. And why is it — why is it that there is this great difference between land armaments and sea armaments? Why is it that we all here look forward with a confidence, which I think is not overrated, a serene confidence, to bringing about as a result of our deliberations some great measure, and under the guidance of the program laid before you by the United States Government? Why is it we are hopeful of coming to a solution of the naval problem?

It is because, in the language of Mr. Briand, there has been, in matters maritime, a moral disarmament, and it is on the basis of the moral disarmament that the physical and material disarmament is going to be built. That is why we are hopeful about the naval question.

And why are we less hopeful about at least any immediate settlement of the military questions? It is because, as Mr. Briand has explained to you, in that case there has not been moral disarmament, because we have no assurance, or because the French Government, who watches these things closely, has no assurance either in Russia or in Germany that moral disarmament has made the degree of progress which would make material disarmament an immediate possibility.

I do not venture to offer an opinion of my own upon this question. I leave you to judge of the facts, as they have been expounded by one who has profoundly studied them and whose gifts of exposition cannot be excelled.

Only this I would say, for I need hardly tell you that I am not going to make a speech: Mr. Briand appears to have some fears lest France should feel herself in moral isolation. That would be a tragedy, indeed.

That the liberties of Europe and the world in general, and of France in particular, should be maintained and guarded against the dominating policy of her Eastern neighbor, is the cause for which the British Empire fought and in which the British Empire still believes. Killed on the field of battle, we lost nearly a million men. I am talking of the British Empire now. We lost nearly a million men. We lost well over two million men in addition, maimed and wounded.

We grieve over the sacrifice; we do not regret it. And if the cause of international liberty was worthy of this immense sacrifice from one of the allied powers — I speak

not of others, it is not my right to speak for them — if it deserved and required this sacrifice from one of the allied and associated powers, and if we at all events have not changed our views, either as to the righteousness of the war or as to its necessity, how can it be otherwise than that, if a similar necessity should again arise, if again the lust of domination, which has been the curse of Europe for so many generations, should threaten the peace, the independence, the self-development of our neighbors and allies, how should it be possible that the sympathies, once so warm, should become refrigerated, should become cold, and that we, who had done so much for the great cause of international liberty, should see that cause perish before our eyes rather than make further sacrifices in its defense?

Those are the thoughts which rise in my mind after hearing the great speech of Mr. Briand. I should only be interfering, I should only be weakening its effect, were I to dwell further upon it, and I will content myself, therefore, with thanking Mr. Briand for the admirable and candid account which he has given of the policy of his country, and wishing him and his country every success and every forward step in that path of unaggressive prosperity which I hope and believe they are now entering.

SENATOR SCHANZER (*speaking in French*). Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Senator Schanzer.

SENATOR SCHANZER.

Gentlemen: I am going to use the French language because I wish that the thought of the Italian delegation should arrive direct, and without the short delay of translation, to the French delegation across the table.

Gentlemen, we have listened with almost religious silence to the magnificent speech which Mr. Briand has

delivered with warm eloquence to explain the position of France and the French point of view.

We are united to France, certainly, not only by the bonds of affinity and common race, but also by the brotherhood of art, by the fraternity of a long and glorious war which received a new and unforgettable consecration when the two peoples fought together on the same battlefields for the sacred defense of national liberty and for the cause of justice.

We listened with the greatest attention to the figures and documents quoted by Mr. Briand, and we found with great pleasure that France, in spite of the great difficulties, and within the limits of probability, was ready to contemplate the principle of limitation of land armament.

It is far from my mind to discuss what France considers indispensable for her national safety. That safety is as dear to us as it may be to them, and we are still morally by the side of our allies of yesterday and our friends of to-day.

I wanted to say this only: May I be allowed to express the wish and the hope that the general limitation of land armaments may become a reality within the shortest possible space of time? Italy has fought the war for the highest aims which a country can seek, but Italy is in her soul a peace-loving nation. I shall not repeat what I had the honor to state at the first meeting of the Conference, but I should like to emphasize again that Italy is one of the surest factors of the world's peace; that she has no reason whatsoever for conflict with any other country; that she is following and putting constantly into action a policy inspired by the principle of maintaining peace among all nations.

However, although we have all reduced our armaments to the greatest possible extent, we consider it necessary, for a complete solution of the problem of limitation of armament in Europe, to take into consideration the arma-

ments of the countries either created or transformed as a result of the war. The problem is not a simple one. It must be considered as a whole. It is a serious and urgent problem, for which a solution at no far distant day is necessary.

Gentlemen, I trust I have said all that is necessary to explain the Italian point of view. The United States in calling this Conference has taken a great and noble initiative, with the aim of creating sound guaranties for the safeguarding of the peace of the world.

In conclusion, may I express the desire and the hope that the Conference, while taking into account the present difficulties, should give attention also to the problem of the limitation of land armaments, the solution of which is an essential condition for promoting throughout the world that atmosphere of peace which Mr. Briand has so clearly explained, and without which it would be hopeless to anticipate that the economic and social reconstruction of the nations which have suffered most severely during and after the war may be fulfilled?

BARON KATO (*speaking in Japanese*). Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Baron Kato.

BARON KATO.

It is needless for me to assure Mr. Briand that Japan has nothing but a most profound sympathy for the peculiarly difficult position which has been so clearly and so eloquently presented to us this morning. May I venture also to add Japan's appreciation of and sympathies for the great sacrifices in men and wealth made by France, the British Empire, Italy, and the United States in the great war for the cause of peace, justice, and harmony?

I should like to say this morning just a few words on

land armament limitation. Japan is quite ready to announce her hearty approval of the principle which aims to relieve a people of heavy burdens by limiting land armaments to those which are necessary for national security and the maintenance of order within the territory.

The size of the land armaments of each State should be determined by its peculiar geographical situation and other circumstances, and these basic factors are so divergent and complicated that an effort to draw final comparisons is hardly possible. If I may venture to say it, it is not an easy task to lay down a general scheme for the limitation of land armaments, as in the case of limitation of naval armaments. Nevertheless, Japan has not the slightest intention of maintaining land armaments which are in excess of those which are absolutely necessary for purely defensive purposes, necessitated by the Far Eastern situation.

BARON DE CARTIER. Mr. President.

PRESIDENT. Baron de Cartier.

BARON DE CARTIER.

Mr. President: Being still under the spell of the thrilling and convincing speech delivered by Mr. Briand, I should just like to state briefly the point of view of Belgium on the question of limitation of land armaments.

Belgium, trusting in the undertaking given by the powers that guaranteed her neutrality, remained for three quarters of a century faithful to a policy of peace and limitation of armament. The tragical events of 1914 were for her a terrible awakener. While she was aspiring to nothing but peace, while she was only anxious to accomplish her duties as a neutral State, war was carried on in her own territory by the two powers that not only had taken engagements with regard to neutrality, but had pledged themselves to see that neutrality should be respected.

Wanton devastation of her industries, fire, murdering and wounding of her inhabitants, deportation of civilian population, heavy losses in her armies, were the reward of her peaceful policy and of the fulfillment of her international obligations.

The Treaty of Versailles put an end to this régime, which events had proved to be worthless and dangerous for her. Owing to her special geographical position and to her situation, Belgium is forced to remain in a certain position, and in 1920 she concluded with France a military agreement purely for defensive purposes, and in case of new, unprovoked aggression on the part of Germany. She keeps her army down to a level that is strictly consistent with the requirements of her national security and she could not possibly proceed to a further reduction of her armament. And yet there is perhaps no State that is more sincerely peace-loving. We have no hatred whatever, and we do not want to see war, which has inflicted such painful sufferings upon us.

If I may refer to the words which King Albert of the Belgians, in his message to President Harding, used, I will say that the Belgian nation calls with her earnest wishes for the moment when the general situation will allow us to enter upon the path of limitation of armaments. She admires the initiative taken by the Government of the United States and wishes every success to the Conference for the greater benefit of the whole world.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). Gentlemen: I shall detain you, gentlemen, but a moment. It would not do justice to my own sentiment or to that of my colleagues of the American delegation if I did not, in a word, take part in this expression of the sense of privilege, which has been felt in listening to this brilliant, elo-

quent, comprehensive, and instructive address stating the position and policy of France.

No words ever spoken by France have fallen upon deaf ears in the United States. The heart of America was thrilled by her valor and her sacrifice, and the memory of her stand for liberty is imperishable in this country, devoted to the institutions of liberty.

It is evident from what Mr. Briand has said that what is essential at this time, in order that we may achieve the great ideal, is the will to peace. And there can be no hope of a will to peace until institutions of liberty and justice are secure among all peace-loving people.

May I say, in response to a word which challenged us all as it was uttered by Mr. Briand, that there is no moral isolation for the defenders of liberty and justice? We understand the difficulties; what has been said will be read throughout this broad land by a people that desires to understand.

The essential condition of progress toward a mutual understanding and a maintenance of the peace of the world is that we should know exactly the difficulties which each nation has to consider, that we should be able justly to appraise them, that we should have the most candid and complete statement of all that is involved in them, and then, with that full appreciation of the apprehensions, of the dangers, of all that may create obstacles in the path of the policy that we are most anxious to pursue, we should plan to meet the case to the utmost practicable extent; and thus the will to peace may have effective expression.

We cannot go into a statement of detail now. Apparently the Conference is so organized that this matter may have an appropriate place in our discussion. We cannot foresee at the moment what practical measures may be available, but the expressions that we have heard from the representatives of the powers engaged in this Conference make us confident that here will be generated that disposition which is essential to national security, the final assurance of security which armies and officers and men and material can never supply: that is, the disposition of a world conscious of its mutual interests and of the dependence upon the fact that if they desire, most ardently and wholly desire it, peace will be enduring among our people.

Is it the desire of the delegates that the matters suggested by the addresses that have been made and the subject itself of land armament should now be committed to the consideration of the Committee on Armament, consisting of the plenipotentiary delegates of the Five Powers? Assent is manifested, and it will be so ordered.

Is it now in accordance with your wish that we should adjourn subject to the call of the Chair?

ELIHU ROOT. Mr. Chairman.

CHAIRMAN. Mr. Root.

ELIHU ROOT. Mr. Chairman, I move we adjourn subject to the call of the Chair.

CHAIRMAN. Is that agreeable to the delegates? (*After a pause*) The meeting stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

THE ARMS CONFERENCE

SEVENTH PLENARY SESSION

TIME: — February 6, 1922
PLACE: — Continental Memorial Hall

CHARACTERS

SECRETARY HUGHES	DR. WANG
PRESIDENT HARDING	MR. ALBERT SARRAUT
SENATOR LODGE	AMBASSADOR JUSSERAND
MR. ELIHU ROOT	SENATOR SCHANZER
SENATOR UNDERWOOD	MR. ROLANDI-RICCI
BARON DE CARTIER	MR. FILIPPO MEDA
SIR ARTHUR BALFOUR	SENATOR ALBERTINI
LORD LEE	BARON KATO
AMBASSADOR GEDDES	BARON SHIDEHARA
SIR ROBERT BORDEN	MR. HANIHARA
SENATOR PEARCE	JONKHEER VAN BLOKLAND
MR. V. S. SASTRI	JONKHEER VAN KARNEBEEK
SIR. J. W. SALMOND	DR. MORESCO
MR. ALFRED SZE	VISCOUNT D'ALTE
MR. WELLINGTON KOO	REV. DR. ABERNETHY

As many others should represent characters as numbers in the class will permit. Those mentioned above have a definite part in this session.

The treaties which are to be signed at this time should be lying on the table situated in the center of the horseshoe square. Members occupy their regular places. President Harding is seated just outside the square. Chairman Hughes calls the meeting to order.

CHAIRMAN (*rising*). Gentlemen: To-day marks the end of three months of arduous labor — labor which, I believe, has accomplished much. I shall now sum up for you the outstanding features of the fourth, fifth, and sixth plenary sessions, that you may have a definite idea of what we have achieved.

Fourth Plenary Session

Four-Power Treaty: —

The United States, Great Britain, France, and Japan agree to respect their rights in relation to their insular possessions and insular dominions in the region of the Pacific Ocean.

This treaty also terminates the agreement between Great Britain and Japan which was concluded at London, July 13, 1911.

The document was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

Fifth Plenary Session

Five-Power Naval Treaty: —

Great Britain, United States, France, Japan, and Italy agree to observe a naval holiday for ten years, limit the tonnage of air-craft carriers and size of armament carried on ships, and scrap sixty-eight of their capital ships.

The treaty was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

Five-Power Submarine and Poison-Gas Treaty: —

This document prohibits the employment of submarines against merchant shipping, and also the use of poison gas as an instrument of warfare. The signatories are Great Britain, United States, France, Japan and Italy.

The treaty was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

Settlement of Shantung Controversy: —
Under this treaty, China is to receive back from Japan the former German properties, concessions, railway, port, mining, maritime customs, and other rights.
The treaty of Versailles confirmed Japan's claim to the former German rights in Shantung. China refused, for that reason, to sign the Versailles Treaty. Many times since then Japan has tried to get China to negotiate on this question, but the Chinese Government always refused to accept the demands which the Japanese Government made the condition of an eventual return of Shantung.
According to the treaty, China is to pay to Japan 53,406,141 gold marks, the assessed value of the properties taken by the Japanese from the Germans during the World War, plus the value of the improvements added by Japan.
The treaty was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

Sixth Plenary Session

Yap Treaty: —
United States and Japan have had negotiations in progress since last June in regard to the island of Yap, and the matter had almost been concluded before the Conference convened.
By this treaty, United States recognizes the Japanese mandate over the island, but with certain conditions which protect American cable and wireless rights.

Withdrawal of group five of Japan's twenty-one demands made on China in 1915.

If this demand had been accepted, it would have given Japan at least partial control of China's government, finances, arms and police.

"Open-Door" Treaty:—
This treaty pledges the nine signatory Powers, United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, China, Holland, Belgium and Portugal, to help China get on her feet. They are not to seek for themselves any unfair or special advantages, and they must respect Chinese neutrality. It further authorizes all or any of them, including China herself, to call a conference of all the signatories in case a situation arises which involves the application of the terms of the treaty.
The treaty was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

Nine-Power Treaty on the Chinese Tariff: —
This treaty, adopted by the committee on the Far East, provides for the assembling at Shanghai as soon as possible of a special commission, whose duty it shall be to revise the Chinese tariff so as to make it equivalent to 5 per cent ad valorem, instead of about 3.5 per cent as at present.
This treaty was voted upon and had the unanimous approval of all nine Powers.

I have said that the Conference had a certain definite and limited aim. That is true, and that is the reason the Conference succeeded. The ambassador of Chile has well observed, however, that its effects are not as limited as its definite purposes.

The indirect effect of reducing navies, I think, is very great. The fact that sea power has been bounded in this matter is a considerable achievement, the

example of which cannot fail to have effect in other countries.

Again, in connection with the difficult Far Eastern problems, it has been shown conclusively that where there is a disposition to reach amicable adjustments it is not profitless to take counsel together. The most acute differences can be settled. I think there is more hope in the world to-day because of what was achieved.

I am happy to say that the Four-Power Treaty between Japan, Britain, France, and America, in which they agree to respect one another's rights in relation to their insular possessions in the Pacific, was signed December 13.

The treaty between China and Japan, which stipulates that Shantung is to be restored to Chinese control, was signed on Saturday.

The treaty between United States and Japan, in which United States recognizes the Japanese mandate over the island at Yap, but with certain conditions which protect American cable and wireless rights, has been signed by America and Japan.

The signing of the following treaties will take place to-day:—

The Five-Power Naval Treaty and Five-Power Submarine and Poison-Gas Treaty are to be signed by America, Britain, France, Italy, and Japan.

The Nine-Power "Open-Door" Treaty and the Nine-Power Treaty on the Chinese Tariff are to be signed by all nine Powers.

The Four-Power Treaty, which is a supplement to

the Four-Power Treaty already signed, and which designates Formosa, the Pescadores, the Japanese half of Sakhalin and the mandated islands as the only Japanese insular possessions, is to be signed by America, Great Britain, France, and Japan.

Will the delegates please step forward in alphabetical order and sign the treaties.

The representatives pass to the treaty table amid great applause. The American delegation is first and is led by Mr. Hughes. He is followed by Senator Lodge, Elihu Root, and Senator Underwood. They sign all five treaties. The representative of Belgium is next in order, so Baron de Cartier signs the two Nine-Power Treaties. Delegates from Great Britain sign all treaties next. Mr. Balfour leads and is followed by Lord Lee, Ambassador Geddes, Sir Robert Borden, Senator Pearce, Mr. Sastri, and Mr. Salmond. Mr. Balfour signs the treaties twice, once for England and the second time for the Union of South Africa. The Chinese delegation, Mr. Sze, Mr. Koo, and Dr. Wang, then sign the two Nine-Power Treaties.

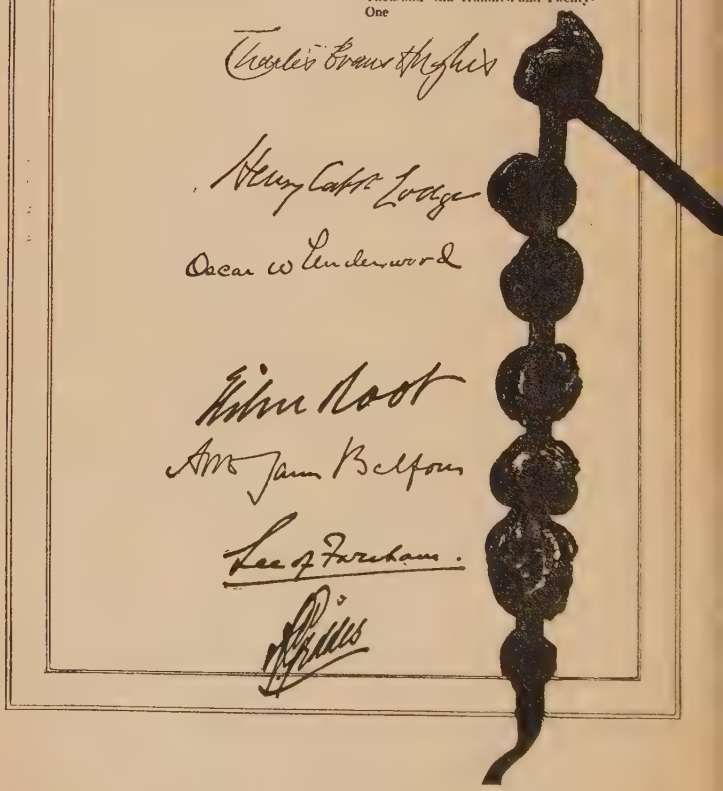
Next Mr. Sarraut and Mr. Jusserand sign all the treaties for France. The Italian delegation, consisting of Senator Schanzer, Mr. Rolandi-Ricci, Mr. Filippo Meda, and Senator Albertini, headed by Senator Schanzer, then sign the two Nine-Power Treaties and the two Five-Power Treaties. Following the Italian delegation are Baron Kato, Baron Shidehara, and Mr. Hanihara,

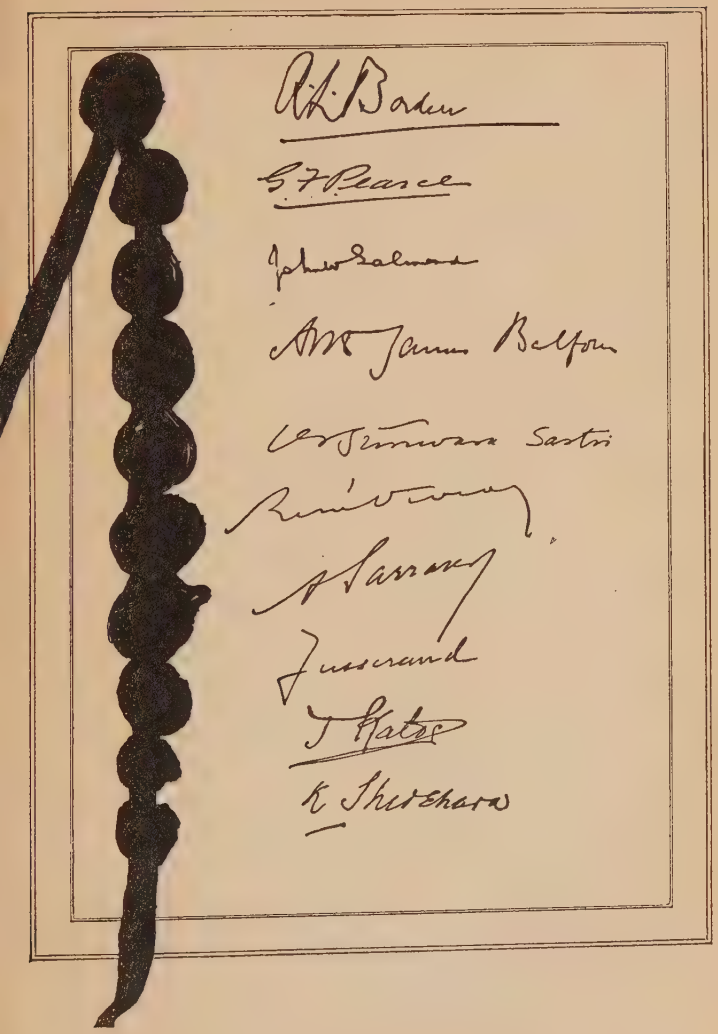
En foi de quoi les Plénipotentiaires sus-nommés ont signé le présent Traité

Fait à Washington le treize Décembre mil neuf cent vingt et un

In faith whereof the above named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty

Done at the City of Washington, the thirteenth day of December, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Twenty-One




A. L. Borden
G. F. Pearce
John W. Salmond
Arthur James Balfour
V. S. Srinivasa Sastri
Jusserand
T. Kato
K. Shidehara

who sign all the treaties for Japan. Next Mr. Karnebeek, Mr. van Blokland, and Dr. Moresco sign the two Nine-Power Treaties for The Netherlands. The last to sign is the Portuguese delegate, Viscount d'Alte, who signs the two Nine-Power Treaties. (*Applause*)

As soon as the applause subsides enough so that he may be heard, Chairman Hughes rises.

CHAIRMAN. The President of the United States.

(*Amid great applause, the President steps to the front*)

PRESIDENT HARDING.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Conference: —

Nearly three months ago it was my privilege to utter to you sincerest words of welcome to the Capital of our Republic, to suggest the spirit in which you were invited, and to intimate the atmosphere in which you were asked to confer. In a very general way, perhaps, I ventured to express a hope for the things toward which our aspirations led us.

To-day it is my greater privilege, and even greater pleasure, to come to make acknowledgment. It is one of the supreme compensations of life to contemplate a worth-while accomplishment.

It cannot be other than seemly for me, as the only chief of government so circumstanced as to be able to address the Conference, to speak congratulations and to offer the thanks of our nation, our people; perhaps I dare volunteer to utter them for the world. My own gratification is beyond my capacity to express.

This Conference has wrought a truly great achievement. It is hazardous sometimes to speak in superlatives, and I will be restrained. But I will say, with every confidence,

that the faith plighted here to-day, kept in national honor, will mark the beginning of a new and better epoch in human progress.

Stripped to the simplest fact, what is the spectacle which has inspired a new hope for the world? Gathered about this table, nine great nations of the earth — not all, to be sure, but those most directly concerned with the problems at hand — have met and have conferred on questions of great import and common concern, on problems menacing their peaceful relationship, on burdens threatening a common peril. In the revealing light of the public opinion of the world, without surrender of sovereignty, without impaired nationality or affronted national pride, a solution has been found in unanimity, and to-day's adjournment is marked by rejoicing in the things accomplished. If the world has hungered for new assurance, it may feast at the banquet which the Conference has spread.

I am sure the people of the United States are supremely gratified, and yet there is scant appreciation of how marvelously you have wrought. When the days were dragging and agreements were delayed, when there were obstacles within and hindrances without, few stopped to realize that here was a conference of sovereign powers where only unanimous agreement could be made the rule. Majorities could not decide without impinging on national rights. There were no victors to command, no vanquished to yield. All had voluntarily to agree in translating the conscience of our civilization and in giving concrete expression to world opinion.

And you have agreed in spite of all difficulties, and the agreements are proclaimed to the world. No new standards of national honor have been sought, but the indictments of national dishonor have been drawn, and the world is ready to proclaim the odiousness of perfidy or infamy.

It is not pretended that the pursuit of peace and the limitations of armament are new conceits, or that the Conference is a new conception in settlement of war or in writing the conscience of international relationship.

Indeed, it is not new to have met in the realization of war's supreme penalties. The Hague conventions are examples of the one, the conferences of Vienna, of Berlin, of Versailles are outstanding instances of the other.

The Hague conventions were defeated by the antagonism of one strong power whose indisposition to coöperate and sustain led it to one of the supreme tragedies which have come to national eminence. Vienna and Berlin sought peace founded on the injustices of war and sowed the seeds of future conflict, and hatred was armed where conference was stifled.

It is fair to say that human progress, the growing intimacy of international relationship, developed by communication and transportation, attended by a directing world opinion, have set the stage more favorably here. You have met in that calm deliberation and that determined resolution which have made a just peace, in righteous relationship, its own best guaranty.

It has been the fortune of this Conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace. Too often, heretofore, the decades following such gatherings have been marked by the difficult undoing of their decisions. But your achievement is supreme, because no seed of conflict has been sown, no reaction in regret or resentment ever can justify resort to arms.

It little matters what we appraise as the outstanding accomplishment. Any one of them alone would have justified the Conference. But the whole achievement has

so cleared the atmosphere that it will seem like breathing the refreshing air of a new morn of promise.

You have written the first deliberate and effective expression of great powers, in consciousness of peace, of war's utter futility, and challenged the sanity of competitive preparation for each other's destruction. You have halted folly and lifted burdens, and revealed to the world that the one sure way to recover from the sorrow and ruin and staggering obligations of a world war is to end the strife in preparation for more of it, and turn human energies to the constructiveness of peace.

Not all the world is yet tranquilized. But here is the example, to imbue with new hope all who dwell in apprehension. At this table came understanding, and understanding brands armed conflict as abominable in the eyes of enlightened civilization.

I once believed in armed preparedness. I advocated it. But I have come now to believe there is better preparedness in a public mind and a world opinion made ready to grant justice precisely as it exacts it. And justice is better serviced in conferences of peace than in conflicts at arms.

How simple it all has been! When you met here twelve weeks ago there was not a commitment, not an obligation, except that which each delegation owed to the government commissioning it. But human service was calling, world conscience was impelling, and world opinion directing.

No intrigue, no offensive or defensive alliances, no involvements have wrought your agreements, but reasoning with each other to common understanding has made new relationships among governments and peoples, new securities for peace, and new opportunities for achievement.

Here have been established the contacts of reason, here have come the inevitable understandings of face-to-face exchanges when passion does not inflame. The very atmos-

phere shamed national selfishness into retreat. Viewpoints were exchanged, differences composed, and you came to understand how common, after all, are human aspirations; how alike, indeed, and how easily reconcilable are our national aspirations; how sane and simple and satisfying it is to seek the relationships of peace and security.

When you first met I told you of our America's thought to see less of armament and none of war; that we sought nothing which is another's, and we were unafraid, but that we wished to join you in doing that finer and nobler thing which no nation can do alone. We rejoice in that accomplishment. It may be that the naval holiday here contracted will expire with the treaties, but I do not believe it.

Those of us who live another decade are more likely to witness a growth of public opinion, strengthened by the new experience, which will make nations more concerned with living to the fulfillment of God's high intent than with agencies of warfare and destruction.

Since this Conference of nations has pointed with unanimity to the way of peace to-day, like Conferences in the future, with aims both well conceived and definite, may illumine the highways and byways of human activity. The torches of understanding have been lighted and they ought to glow and encircle the globe.

Again, gentlemen of the Conference, congratulations and the gratitude of the United States. To Belgium, to the British Empire, to China, to France, to Italy, to Japan, to The Netherlands, and to Portugal, I can wish no more than the same feeling which we experience, of honorable and honored contribution to happy human advancement and a new sense of security in the righteous pursuits of peace and all attending good fortune.

From our own delegates I have known from time to time of your activities and of the spirit of conciliation and

of adjustment and the cheering readiness of all of you to strive for unanimity. Without it there would have been failure. With it you have heartened the world.

And I know our guests will pardon me while I make grateful acknowledgment to the American delegation — to you, Mr. Secretary Hughes; to you, Senator Lodge; to you, Senator Underwood; to you, Mr. Root — to all of you for your able and splendid and highly purposed and untiring endeavors in behalf of our Government and our people; and to our excellent Advisory Committee which gave to you so dependable a reflex of that American public opinion which charts the course of this Republic.

It is all so fine, so gratifying, so reassuringly full of promise, that above the murmurings of a world sorrow not yet silenced; above the groans which come of excessive burdens not yet lifted, but now to be lightened; above the discouragements of a world yet struggling to find itself after surpassing upheaval, there is the note of rejoicing, which is not alone ours or yours or of all of us, but comes from the hearts of men of all the world.

(*Great applause*)

CHAIRMAN. Dr. Abernethy. (*All rise*)

DR. ABERNETHY (*very reverently*). Our Father, we bow before Thee this day in grateful acknowledgment of Thy mercies so freely bestowed. We have come to the day when the labors of many weary weeks are ended. Inspire us to labor unceasingly, each in his own place, that the era of permanent peace and brotherly love and good will may come. . . . Then shall the whole world be filled with Thy glory.

Chairman Hughes allows the gavel to fall on his desk to indicate that the Washington Conference has come to an end.

POSTERS

THE Washington Conference is one of the greatest achievements for peace which has ever been registered in the history of the world.

LLOYD GEORGE

THE three principal objectives of the Conference were limitation of armaments, the termination of the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and aid to China, which would help her to secure a real independence.

SENATOR LODGE

YOU have written the first effective expression of the Great Powers in the consciousness of peace and of war's utter futility.

PRESIDENT HARDING

IT has been the fortune of this Conference to sit in a day far enough removed from war's bitterness, yet near enough to war's horrors, to gain the benefit of both the hatred of war and the yearning for peace.

PRESIDENT HARDING

OUR Country — however bounded or described, and be the measurements more or less — still our country, to be cherished in all our hearts and defended by all our hands.

WINTHROP

APPENDIX

Some Simple Rules of Parliamentary Procedure

1 Making of Motions

When a member wishes to bring a motion before the assembly, he rises and says, "Mr. Chairman," "Miss Chairman," "Mr. President," or "Madam President." If the member is entitled to the floor, the Chairman recognizes him by speaking his name. This recognition "gives him the floor," that is, he has the right to speak. He then makes the motion, saying, "I move that. . . .," or "I make a motion that. . . . ."

2 Seconding of Motions

As a general rule, every motion should be seconded. In Congress, however, this is not required at the present time, although it was required in earlier Congresses.

A member may second a motion without rising or without addressing the Chair.

3 Stating and Putting the Question

The Chairman states the question by saying, "It is moved and seconded that. . . . Are you ready for the question?" (The Chairman may remain seated while stating the question, but in large assemblies it is often best to rise.) Discussion then takes place while the Chairman is seated. Speakers must rise, address their remarks to the presiding officer, be courteous in their language, and avoid personalities. After the discussion, the Chairman rises and puts the pending question to a vote. It is generally stated in this way: "Those in favor of the motion, say *aye*. Those opposed, *no*. The *ayes* have it and the motion is carried"; or, "Those in favor of the motion will

rise; be seated; those opposed will rise; be seated. The affirmative has it and the motion is adopted."

If the question cannot be debated, or amended, the Chairman does not say, "Are you ready for the question?" but puts the question to a vote immediately after stating it.

4 Subsidiary Motions

(*a*) To Lay on the Table:

This motion may apply to any principal motion, and when it is made, the principal motion cannot be debated, but must be put immediately to the members for a vote. The purpose of this motion is to dispose of the main question for the time being, in order to attend to more urgent business.

(*b*) The Previous Question:

The object of moving the previous question is to bring the assembly at once to a vote on the immediately pending question. Its form is, "I move (or demand or call for) the previous question." After it is seconded, the Chairman says, "The previous question, on the motion to . . ., is called for (or demanded or moved). As many as are in favor of ordering the previous question on (repeat motion) will rise." When they are again seated, he continues, "Those opposed will rise." "There being two thirds in favor of the motion, the affirmative has it, and we shall now vote on the main question. The question is. . . . All those in favor say *aye;* opposed, *no.*"

(*c*) Motion to Postpone to a Certain Time:

If a question is postponed, it becomes the "order of the day" at the time to which it was postponed.

(*d*) To Refer or to Commit to a Committee:

Very often it is wise to investigate a question more carefully before it is put to the assembly for a vote. It is then referred to a committee, whose duty is to make a thorough investigation of the subject and

again bring it before the assembly. The form of this motion may be as follows: "I move the question be referred to a committee," or "I move that the subject be referred to a committee of three to be appointed by the Chair, and that it report by resolution at the next meeting," or "I move that the assembly do now resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole, to take under consideration. . . ." If this motion is adopted, the Chairman immediately calls another member to the chair, and takes his place as a member of the committee.

(*e*) Motion to Amend:

An amendment may take any of the following forms: (1) Adding words to the motion, (2) Striking out words, (3) Substituting words. The motion is made in form similar to this: "I move to amend this resolution by inserting 'not' after the word 'do.'" Then the Chairman may proceed: "As many as are in favor of the amendment, say *aye;* those opposed, *no.* The *ayes* have it; the amendment is adopted."

(*f*) Motion to Postpone Indefinitely:

If this motion is adopted, the question cannot be introduced again during the same session.

5 Voting

(*a*) By *Ayes* (īs) and *Noes* (nōs):

This is a very usual method, and is required by Congress. The responsibility of announcing or declaring the vote rests with the Chair, therefore, if he is in doubt as to the result, he has the right to have the vote taken again. This time he calls for a rising vote, by asking those voting in the affirmative to rise, and when they are again seated, asking those voting in the negative to rise.

If any member doubts the result of the vote, he may say, without obtaining the floor, "I call for a

division," or "I doubt the vote." As soon as a division is called for, the Chair asks for a rising vote.

(*b*) By Show of Hands, or by Raising the Right Hand:

This method is used very extensively in small assemblies. The vote should always be taken first by the voice (*viva voce*) or by a show of hands, except in the case of motions requiring a two-thirds vote, when a rising vote should be taken first.

(*c*) By Ballot:

This form of voting is more commonly employed in voting for candidates than in any other situation. However, if it is required by the by-laws, or if a majority of the members demand it, this form of voting may be employed on motions generally.

After counting the votes, the teller stands, addresses the Chair, reads the report, and hands it to the Chairman. He then takes his seat without saying who is elected. The Chairman again reads the report of the tellers, and declares who is elected.

(*d*) By *Yeas* (yās) and *Nays* (nās), or roll call:

This form is common in legislative assemblies where the constituents have a right to know how their representatives voted. Ordinarily the vote is by *ayes* and *noes*, but anyone may move that the vote be taken by *yeas* and *nays*. The Chairman then puts the question in a form similar to this: "As many as are in favor of the adoption of these resolutions will, as their names are called, answer *yes* or *yea* (yā); those opposed, *no* or *nay* (nā)." The Chairman then directs the Clerk to call the roll. As he does so, each member, as his name is called, rises and answers "*yes*" or "*no*."

By the Constitution, one fifth of the members can, in either house of Congress, order a vote to be taken by *yeas* and *nays*. In practice, however, the method of taking a vote is generally agreed upon without the formality of a vote.

6 Pairs in Congress

The "pair" is an arrangement between members of Congress which enables a member to be absent without hurting the side he is supporting. A senator who would vote for a bill or resolution may have pressing business away from Washington. In his absence, his vote cannot be given or counted; but in order that his side may not lose anything by his absence, he agrees with another senator, who is opposed to the same bill, that neither shall vote. Thus each side loses one vote and the result is not changed.

7 Quorum

In Congress a quorum is a majority of the members, while in most societies it is less than one fifth, and often less than one tenth of the members.

8 Resolutions

When a main motion is of such importance or length as to be in writing, it is usually written in the form of a resolution: that is, beginning with the words, "*Resolved*, That," the word "Resolved" being underscored or written in italics and followed by a comma, and the word "That" beginning with a capital "T." If the word "Resolved" were replaced by the words "I move," the resolution would become a motion.

When a member wishes a resolution adopted, after having obtained the floor he says, "I move the adoption of the following resolution," or, "I submit the following resolution," which he reads and hands to the Chair.

9 The Chairman

The presiding officer is ordinarily called the Chairman or the President. His duties are: —

To open the session by taking the chair and calling the members to order.

To announce the business before the assembly, in the order in which it is to be acted upon.

To recognize members entitled to the floor.

To state and to put to vote all questions which are moved or which arise in the course of the proceedings, and to announce the result of votes.

To enforce on all occasions the observance of order among the members.

To inform the assembly on a point of order or practice pertinent to pending business.

The Chairman may vote when the vote is by ballot, or by *yeas* and *nays*, or when, in voting by any other method, his vote can change the result.

It is a general rule in all deliberative assemblies that the presiding officer shall not participate in the debate or other proceedings, in any other capacity than as such officer.

The presiding officer should always refer to himself as "the Chair," thus: "The Chair decides," not "I decide."

The Chairman may generally remain seated, that is, in recognizing a member, in ruling on a point of order, in stating a question, and during debate. But he should rise when giving his reasons for his decisions on a point of order, and when putting a question before the assembly.

10 The Secretary or Clerk

The recording officer is called Clerk, or Secretary, or Recording Secretary. The Secretary is the recording officer of the assembly and the custodian of its records.

In addition to keeping the records of the society, and the minutes of the meeting, it is his duty to keep a register or roll of the members and to call the roll when required.

It is also his duty to send out proper notices of all called meetings, and to conduct the correspondence of the society. Where there is a Corresponding Secretary, those duties devolve on him, as well as such others as prescribed by the by-laws.

The Secretary should be seated while recording notes, or taking a roll call, but he should always rise when reading any document before the assembly.

A-62-65

APR - - 1969